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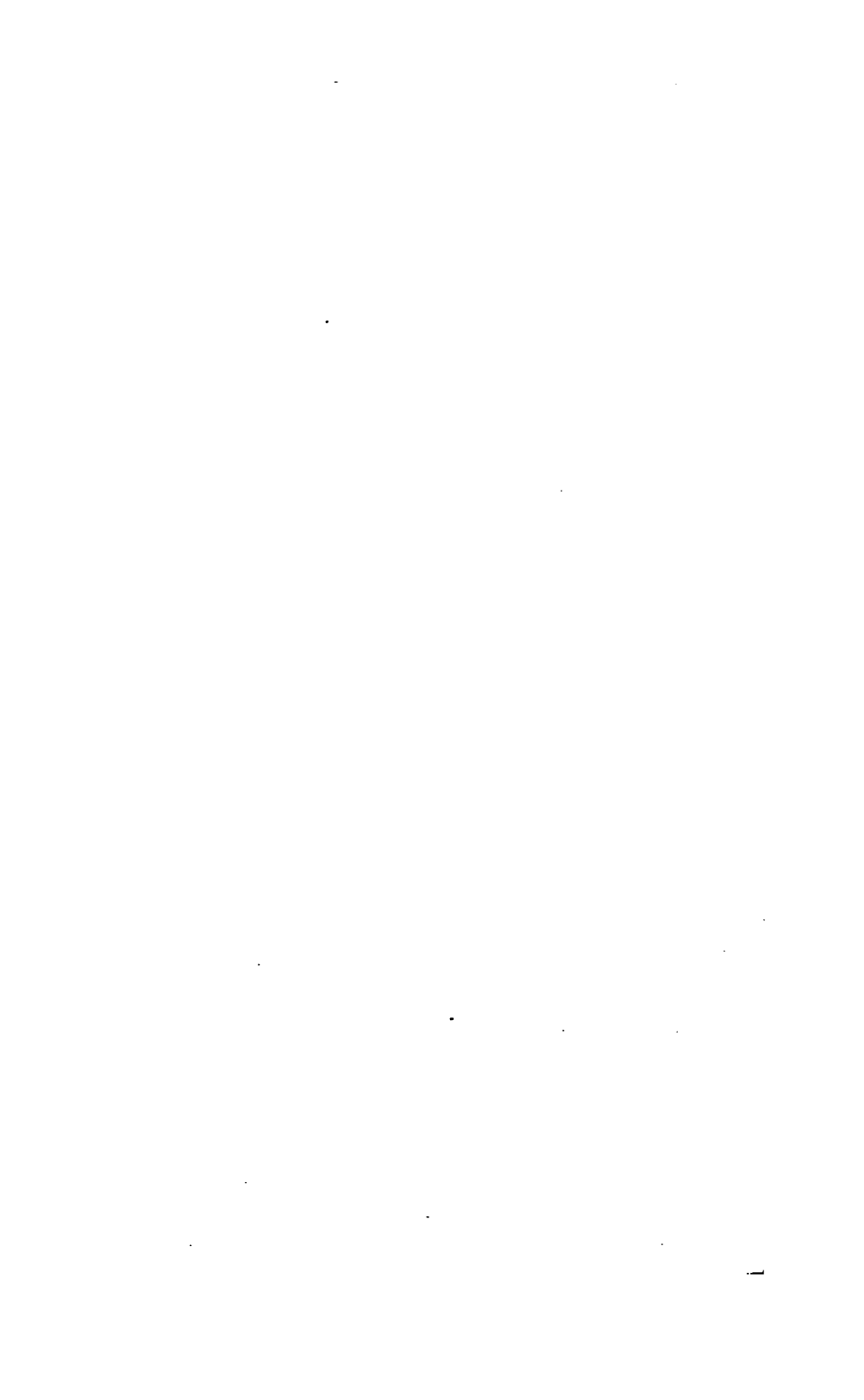
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102





A
Compleat HISTORY
Of the Ancient
AMPHITHEATRES.

More peculiarly Regarding
The **ARCHITECTURE** of those **BUILDINGS,**

And in Particular
That of *VERONA*.

By the Marquis **SCIPIO MAFFEI.**

Made *English* from the *Italian* Original
By **ALEXANDER GORDON, A.M.**
Adorned with **SCULPTURES.**

ALSO
Some Account of this Learned Work:

Which Contains likewise,

- I. A Succinct History of *Gladiators*, and *Gladiatory-Shews*; with their Origin and Progress.
- II. Of *Inscriptions* relating to *Amphitheatres*.
- III. The Manner of Baiting *Wild-Beasts* among the Ancients.
- IV. Of Subterraneous *Conduits*, and other *Aqueducts*.
- V. A Detection of the Errors of

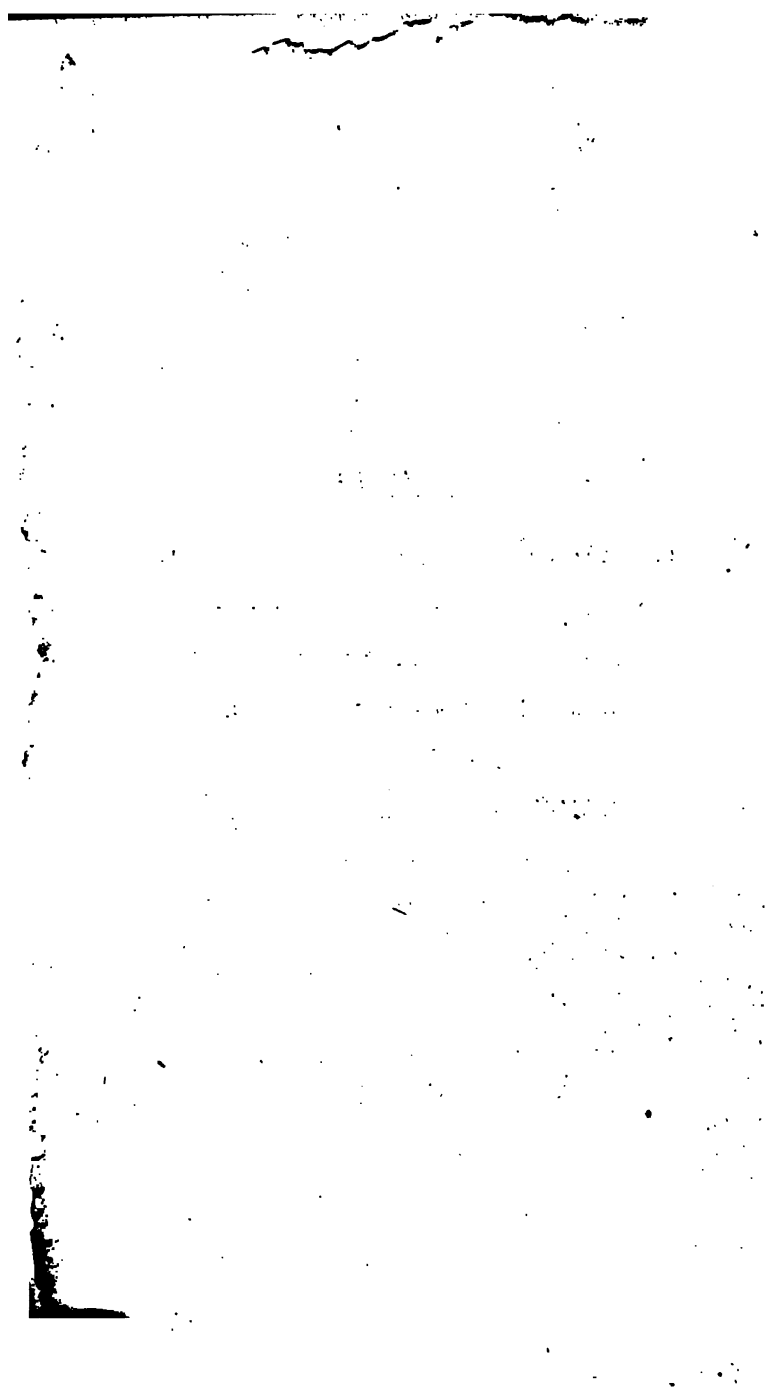
Lipsius, *Fontana*, and others who have written upon this Subject.

- VI. The Destroyers of Ancient Monuments exposed; especially some under the Pontificate of the late Pope **BENEDICT XIII.**
- VII. An Account of Genuine **MEDALS**; and a Description of the most Remarkable Structures of the *Ancients*.

L O N D O N;

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Price 6 s.





T O
G E O R G E B O W S
Of *Streatham-Castle*, Esq;



F a Descent from an Illustrious Race of Patriots, such as *Camden* is Witness that your Predecessors have been ; if the Possession of a Plentiful Fortune, of a Numerous and Powerful Friendship, and of a General Esteem, were sufficient to render a Man happy ; there are very few that would have a greater Share

of Felicity than your self : But you are sensible, Sir, that the best Judges of Human Nature would not esteem you such, notwithstanding these Advantages, did you not possess the Nobler Endowments of the Mind. These are the Qualities that improve the Gentleman, a mere amiable Character, into that of the highest Utility, the Patriot: 'Tis by these alone that Honours, Riches, and Interest become useful, and conduce not only to the Happiness of the Possessor, but to that of Mankind in general ; 'tis by these, that a Man not only dispenses Good in his own Time, but entails a lasting and improveable Felicity on After-Ages.

THE Advantage of your Patronage to this Piece, might here be a sufficient Reason for a Dedication, had I not been affected with a much stronger Motive, the Desire I have of declaring to the World how much I am indebted to your Bounty. I am
sensible

DEDICATION v

sensible that this Performance is a very small Return for the Favours I've received; and yet I should think my Labour very well bestowed, could I deserve the least Part of that Approbation you will give the Learned Author of the Original. I have this at least in my favour, that 'tis much more difficult to translate than to compose.

THAT you may long live, and continue to be the Patron of Learning and Virtue, and the Happiness of such as are honoured with your Friendship, is the sincere Wish of,

S I R,

Your most Humble and

most Obligated Servant,

ALEXANDER GORDON.



P R E F A C E.

THE great Figure the Marquis Scipio Maffei makes in the Learned World, and the just Fame he has acquired by the many excellent Works he has published, made me anxious to see this his last Performance on the ancient Amphitheatres; which by a diligent Perusal I found of the greater Importance, as it was handled with that superior Share of Learning, Truth and Accuracy, which runs throughout the Whole.

The Author [whose chief fault, if any at all, seems to be that becoming Modesty which is the surest Evidence of good Sense, and what commonly attends Merit] has not prefix'd his Name to his Treatise, tho' by the elegant Manner in which the Piece is conducted, none vers'd in Italian Antiquity can be at a loss, on reading, to judge it the Work of the abovemention'd Gentleman; and indeed it certainly was compil'd by him.

The

P R E F A C E.

vii

The Editor of the original Treatise in Italian, gives the Public to understand in his Preface, that it was designed to be the last Tome of a Work, which the Author intended to publish under the Title of Verona Illustrata, tho' now it happens to be the first: and the Reason given, is, because this Treatise on the Amphitheatres was, he says, with great Earnestness sought after by the Curious in several parts of Europe; for which reason he prevailed on the Author, [who, he adds, is sufficiently well known] to give him the Copy, that it might be published apart, and without delay.

He likewise tells us, that by giving such an Account of the Work, the Reader may know the Reason why he did not print it in a larger Volume; nay, even in Folio, as some desired it might, there being so many who in this Age love costly Performances, as if, says he, a Book had not its greatest Value from the Matter it contains, but from the Price alone. He likewise adds, that the Treatise, as it was printed in the original Italian, is suited to the Size of the other Tomes, that are to be published, and to the Copper-plates in them, which tho' small, are however not less satisfactory with regard to their illustrating the Subject, nor are they in the main less valuable; and he appeals to the Curious, whether it is not better to publish the Prints

relating to the Amphitheatres in a small Size, than in a manner too much practised at present, which must be disrelished by those who truly understand Antiquity; by which he means the pompous way some People have taken of publishing Ornaments and Parts to Remains of Antiquity, which never belong'd to them.

The same Editor subjoins, that by the Form in which the Cuts in the Italian Original are exhibited, [which are the same with these in this Book] the learned Stranger travelling in Italy, may have the Pleasure of carrying the Book in his Pocket; so that at whatever time he visits the ancient Monuments themselves, from which the whole is taken, he may thereby be able to examine and see if what is represented in the Treatise be according to Truth and Exactness.

This being the Substance of what the Italian Publisher says in his Preface, I shall not for my part anticipate the Satisfaction which the learned Reader will have in perusing the Treatise itself: I shall therefore only say in general, tho' with Deference to the Opinion of better Judges, that there are few Books of so small a Size, wherein there appear more Erudition, Truth or Accuracy: For not only has the Author given the Architectonic Parts of the Buildings as examined by himself on the Spot, but as

P R E F A C E. ix

measured with his own Hands in the most exact manner imaginable, as will soon appear in reading the Book itself. There is a great Difference therefore between the Marquis Maffei, and others who have wrote before him on the Subject, since they having relied on the Accounts they had from second Hands, and at a distance, have thereby not only been misled themselves, but misguided others, who copying from them, have only contributed to multiply Error. But our Author, on the contrary, has neither regarded what has been said concerning these things, tho' the Assertions of learned Men, nor been byass'd in any one Point, wherever their Accounts have interfered with, or contradicted Matter of Fact, always directing himself by the Buildings and Monuments of Antiquity still subsisting.

And as it is certain, that the Neglect of digging to the Foundations of the Amphitheatres, in order to discover the Parts of those Structures under Ground, has occasioned the Authors, who till now, have treated about them, either to speak so slightly on that Head, [as if examining the Foundations, was of no Importance in their Accounts of the Superstructure] or if they have mentioned any thing this way, their Descriptions have of necessity been very imperfect and erroneous; and thereby it is
im.

impossible for their Readers to have from them any true Idea of those magnificent Edifices. Our Author has been so far from imitating their Example in this particular, that scarce has any part belonging to the Amphitheatres been exhibited with more Skill and Accuracy, than those under ground. In this he has succeeded so well, that he has given an exact Plan of the Foundations of the Walls of the exterior and interior Inclosures, Podium, Steps, subterraneous Conduits and Apartments there, which he shews served for various and curious Uses; all which for these sixteen or seventeen hundred Years have been unsearch'd for, and unknown, not a little to the Disadvantage of our modern Architects, who, if they pretend to Elegance or Accuracy in their Art, must learn from the School of the Ancients; and not only consider the Superstructures, but likewise descend to the Foundations of their magnificent Buildings.

There is another Particular which our Author shews plainly has contributed not a little to the propagating a false Notion of Amphitheatres in general; and it is that hinted at by the Italian Editor in his Preface just now mentioned; that is to say, the Method that many have got into, of adding Ornaments and Parts to ancient Buildings, which never have, nor could,

P R E F A C E. xi

with any Propriety have belong'd to them, and upon Examination they are found to be mere Chimeras, and the Fancies of those who desire their Treatises of Antiquity should make a pompous Figure to the Eye, and raise the popular Value of their Performances. I own this is sapping the Foundation of Truth itself, and robbing us of what is chiefly valuable in the rich Treasure of Antiquity, its genuine Character. And I wonder the Authors of such Fictions have not been afraid to be treated by the Ingenious as Traytors to Learning and Knowledge, and their Works ranked in the same Class that Historians do those of Anniius of Viterbo: And I am sorry to see with how much Truth our Author has had occasion to reprove other Antiquaries and Architects, who have but too visibly imposed their ample and numerous Fictions on the World for Realities; tho' I am afraid his Censure on them will scarce deter some of our modern Gentlemen, who seem to revive Antiquity much after the same Manner as Pythagoras remembred his pre-existent State. What Mistakes have been made by Lipsius, Fontana, and others, who have treated on the Subject of Amphitheatres, our Author corrects in so modest and genteel a Manner, as shews he has had much Deference for the deserved great Characters of these Men, particularly
Lipsius,

Lipſius, *whoſe ſuperior Learning and Genius he greatly admires, as he does Fontana's Skill in Architecture. And indeed, the handſome manner in which he corrects their Errors, ſhews him both a Scholar and a Gentleman: Tho' the other more inconfiderable Writers, who have impoſed their injudicious Ornaments and Fictions on Mankind for Truths, he has reprov'd with the Severity they deſerve, as he has done another Claſs of Men, whom I may indeed rank but a Degree higher than Beaſts, viz. the Deſtroyers of ancient Monuments. Theſe, he has expoſed by their Names and Surnames, to the perpetual Re-proach of Mankind; and may ſuch as follow their Example never meet with better Uſage! Such Inſtances we have of the like Brutifneſs in the Pontificate of Benediſt XIII. the late Pope, by the Deſtruction of Livia's Columbarium, and the Bagnio's of Auguſtus lately diſcovered, not a little to the Scandal of Rome herſelf, and Regret of the Lovers of ancient good Taſte and Grandeur.*

I cannot omit mentioning the Obligations the Learned are under to the Marquis Maffei, for exploding a vulgar Error, which till now has been prevalent among Anti-quaries and others; namely, that in ſeveral places out of Rome, and in the Roman Colonies, there were a great number of Amphitheatres, and that the Ruins of them
are

P R E F A C E. xiii

are still to be seen: whereas this very Learned and Judicious Author makes it evident by convincing Proofs, that there never were more than three real Amphitheatres in Europe, viz. the Coliseum at Rome, built by Vespasian; the other at Verona, called the Arena; and the third at Capua. And he plainly proves, that the others pretended to be, at Nîmes in Languedoc, Pola in Istria, Syracuse in Sicily, Italica in Spain, in the Island Candia; Puzzuola near Naples, &c. are not Amphitheatres, but magnificent Theatres only. In how judicious a manner he distinguishes between these two kinds of different Edifices, will best appear to the Unprejudiced and Learned Reader, when he peruses the Treatise itself, and must, I think, give a general Satisfaction.

*But what, in my humble Opinion, is one of the greatest Beauties and Excellencies in the whole Work, is that Learned and Masterly, but Succinct Manner, by which our Author has given the ancient History of Gladiators, and Gladiatory Shews in general, their Origine, and Progress throughout all the different Ages he mentions; as likewise the Time when, Manner how, and End for which Amphitheatres were first built. Therein has he consulted and quoted the best Greek and Roman Historians, Poets and others: from these he plainly
proves,*

proves, that Amphitheatres were not a Greek, but a Roman Invention, and that no such Building was ever in use in Greece. After them he has recourse to the Writers in the Ages nearest to the Times of the Declension of the Roman Empire, and makes use of the Hints given about Amphitheatres by the Fathers, and after them by some of the Monkish Writers, in their Lives of Romish Saints: which last Particular I hear has been disrelished by some Critics in this Country. But all I have to say as to that Particular, is, that some Truth may be picked out of the most indifferent of such Writers; besides, the Marquis does not enter into the Merit of the Legends and Miracles, nor decide any thing about them, whether true or false; only makes use of the Traditions found in them, relating to Amphitheatres and Theatres in general: which last belong'd to his Subject, in giving the historical Account of them from the Times wherein they were built, down to the present Age. Nay, he is so far from setting any Value on those Legends, that in one part of his Book he finds very great fault in some Writers, in their Accounts of Amphitheatres, for laying so great a Stress as what they do, on Books of Martyrdoms and Miracles of Saints, and the like.

There is another Particular, which I hear is disliked by the Critics who have perused

I shall conclude this Preface by adding what I think is but the Marquis MAFFEI's just due; which is, that there does not only appear a vast Fund of Erudition throughout almost every Part of the Work, but what is most satisfactory of all, those things which are of the greatest Importance to the Subject, are not only illustrated, but demonstrated, from what the Author has seen in, or measured from the Monuments themselves; or, from genuine Medals and Inscriptions; which are the true Criterion by which Truth in matters of Antiquity are known and distinguished from Falshood. All which, I humbly think, is done not a little to the Satisfaction of those who delight in ancient Learning and things of elegant Taste, and who have Pleasure in seeing true Views exhibited, and a perfect Description given of the most sumptuous and stupendous Structures of the Ancients.

DIRECTIONS for placing the CUTS.

PLATE I. To front the Title-Page.

II. In Chap. XI.	Pag. 123
III. Before Book II.	190
IV. In Chap. II.	205
V. <i>Ibid.</i>	210
VI. In Chap. III.	222
VII. In Chap. IV.	229
VIII. To front Chap. VI.	242
IX. At the End of Chap. VIII.	282
X. In Chap. IX.	289
XI. In Chap. XI.	302
XII. In Chap. XIV.	352
XIII. To front Chap. XV.	357
XIV. Chap. XVI.	375
XV. <i>Ibid.</i>	399



O F
AMPHITHEATRES;

And particularly of that of

V E R O N A.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

Of the Original of GLADIATORS
in ROME.



T must in particular be allowed, that the Grandeur and Elegancy of the ancient Edifices, are among those things, which are now more to be admired than imitated.

Amphitheatres, with regard to Magnificence and Bulk, Workmanship and Art, were certainly superior to all the others; and indeed the well comprehending the

B

Nature

2 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Nature of such Structures, is no less entertaining than useful, especially for illustrating History.

It is a receiv'd Opinion, that nothing more can well be said on this Subject, after what is already published by so many Writers, particularly *Justus Lipsius*, who, I own, has treated the Matter with Judgment and Learning, and after *Carlo Fontana*, whose large Volume thereon was lately printed in *Holland*. But not to derogate from the Praises due to each of these Authors, I believe I shall be able plainly to shew, that the Structure of those Fabricks has not, as yet, been well understood in the most ingenious Parts of them. The Affair lying hitherto in Obscurity, and not searched after in what is most essential, because it never has been treated in Order, nor purged from the many false Opinions prevalent in all the Books wrote on the Subject, which prove detrimental to other Branches of Learning; tho' from a right understanding of this, depends the Knowledge of many Places in both sacred and profane Writers; so that such an Enquiry will be found of more real Benefit than what many are aware of: For which Reason we shall endeavour here to trace the Affair from its first Source.

The Publick Shews exhibited in the Combats of Wild Beasts one with the other,
and

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 3

and not that of Gladiators, were the true Motives for first erecting Amphitheatres. Gladiatory Combats, 'tis true, were long in Use at *Rome*, though at that Time they never thought of building such Fabricks; but as soon as remote Countries were conquered, and the Victors possessed of Power and Riches, then began new Kinds of Diversions and Pleasures to be invented, and a Desire in People to see Beasts fight fiercely with one another, which till then were unknown in our Climate, hence they began to think of erecting Amphitheatres.

In effect, the most famous Amphitheatre of any, was, as ¹ *Dio* relates, begun by an Emperor who held Gladiators in no manner of Esteem; the Name given to those Edifices when first built, was *Theatrum Venatorium*, or the Theatre for Hunting, as will soon appear, and which Name was retained by ² *Cassiodorus*; so that it was not the Combats of Gladiators, but the Fighting of wild Beasts, which was understood by the Word Hunting. 'Tis true, Amphitheatres served afterwards for the one as well as the other: But as the Use of having gladiatory Combats was so much anterior to the other, we shall therefore first of all mention something concerning them.

¹ *V. Xephil. in Vesp.*

² *Var. lib. 5. 42. Theatrum Venatorium.*

4 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

A Motive in Religion paved the Way first to this celebrated Institution, namely, that most ancient Opinion, That the Souls of the Deceased, who were in a certain Manner deified by leaving the Body, delighted in human Blood; and that the Slaughter of Men, by way of Sacrifice in Honour of them, rendered them propitious, or at least pleased, and their Wrath appeas'd, as if slain to satisfy their Revenge. This Opinion occasioned great Cruelty to fall on the Prisoners of War: And as to its Antiquity, in one of ³ *Homer's* most considerable Poems, we find that *Achilles* slew Twelve of the young *Trojan* Nobility at the Pile of *Patroclus*: But as ⁴ *Servius* observes, the massacring Men in such a shocking Manner, appearing too inhuman, they thought fit to introduce a Practice something like it, by way of Combat; and this seems to be hinted by *Herodotus*, in his Account of the *Thracians*; but that Passage bears, perhaps, another Meaning, the Author speaking only of those Contests and funeral Games to which Rewards were annexed: So that notwithstanding ⁵ *Lip-
sus* believes it, yet I cannot be of Opinion, that the Origine of those Gladiators, called *Thraci*, or *Thracians*, is to be deduced from

³ *Iliad.*
sum, &c.

⁴ *Ad Æn. X. quod postquam Crudele vi-*
⁵ *bat.*

thence.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 5

thence. * *Dyillus* from *Athenæus* writes, that *Cassander* (at the Funeral of *Arideus* King of *Macedon*, and his Wife) caused four Soldiers to combat with one another ; yet this is thought no Proof that the Gladiators came originally from *Greece* to *Rome*. The Fact related by *Dyillus* is, I own, singular ; but neither did this Usage begin in *Greece*, much less take Footing there, by way of Publick Shew. We know very well, that among so many Kinds of Exercises at the Olympick Games, there never were any gladiatory Combats. In *Vitruvius* we read, that the Piazzas or open Places in *Italy*, were made in a different Manner from those in *Greece*, and for a Use handed down to them from their Fore-fathers, namely for exhibiting therein their famous Publick Shews ; which however were never seen in *Greece*, unless brought thither from *Rome*: Yet I remember a Passage in *Lucian*, which has made many believe, that even in ancient Times both Gladiators and Wild Beasts were in Use on the Theatre of *Athens* ; but one may plainly see, that Account of the *Toxari* is fabulous. We know from *Livy*, that *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was the first who instituted Gladiators in *Greece*, whom he made come from *Rome* thither,

* *Lerm. l. 1. c. 9.*

¹ *L. 5. c. 1.*

² *In Tox.*

6 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

more for the ¹ Terror than Pleasure of that People, who were unaccustomed to such kinds of Shews ; nor for all that, did that King continue them there, nor after him were they established in any Part of Greece ; for if so, we should have had frequent mention thereof in Writers. ; nay, such kind of Representations would be seen remaining on the *Grecian* Monuments of Antiquity. In process of Time, 'tis true, *Corinth* received those Exercises ; but that City having been intirely destroy'd by *Lucius Mummius*, *Cæsar* was obliged to re-people it with new Colonies from *Rome*, as ¹ *Dio* tells us : And ² *Pausanias* avers, That in his Time there was no *Corinthian* Inhabitant there at all, and none but *Romans* sent thither on purpose from *Rome*.

The *Athenians*, when at Variance with *Corinth*, sometimes called in the *Romans* to their Assistance ; but as it appears by ³ *Lucian*, they were dissuaded therefrom by *Demonattes*, and ⁴ *Dion Chrysostomus* greatly blames those *Greeks* for having suffered the *Romans* to come among them.

The *Romans* did therefore, 'tis plain, not receive the aforesaid Usage from the *Greeks*, but from the *Italians*, or rather

¹ *Lib.* 41. *cum terrore hominum insuetorum ad tale spectaculum.* ² *Dio l.* 43. ³ *Paus. in Cor.* ⁴ *In vit.*
Demon. ⁴ *Orat.* 31.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 7

Hetrurians, among whom it was a peculiar and immemorial Institution.

⁵ *Vitruvius* tells us, that those kinds of Publick Shews were originally *Italian*, and handed down to the Inhabitants of *Italy* by their Fore-fathers. The Truth of this appears very evident, by the Figures upon the sepulchral Monuments of the *Hetrurians*, nothing being oftner seen there than such kinds of Combats, and Men in the Attitudes of killing one another with Knives and Swords, and other various and uncommon Weapons; all which may be observed in the great Collection of *Hetrurian* Antiquities made lately at *Florence*.

Those Combats were not only in use at Funerals; but likewise at their Feasts, Duels were appointed for Amusement and Pleasure; as ⁶ *Athenæus* mentions, speaking of the Inhabitants of the *Campagna*, who were *Hetrusci* or *Hetrurians*. *Eratosthenes* from the same Author says, That those People used to fight at the Sound of ⁷ Flutes; but the Word here seems rather to imply Boxers, though the Context itself indicates Gladiators, in which Sense *Casaubon* understood it; here likewise *Athenæus* quotes the following Words of the old Historian ⁸ *Nicholaus Damascenus*, who says, that

⁵ L. 5. c. 1.

⁶ Lib. 4.

⁷ Ib. πρὸς αὐλῶν πυκτέωσ.

⁸ πρὸς τυρρηνῶν, &c.

8 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

The gladiatory Shews were exhibited by the Romans, not only at their publick Meetings, and on their Theatres, taking the Custom from the Hetrurians; but they used them at their Feasts also.

By this Passage, ⁹ *Lipſius* ſuſpected that the Inſtitution was originally Greek, be-
 cauſe ¹ *Hermippus* ſaid, That the *Mantinei*
 were the Inventers of Duels; but one may
 fairly aſk, How far we muſt deſere to his
 Authority? Or, what does he underſtand
 by the Word ² *Duellers*? Surely ſome-
 thing very different from gladiatory Shews!
 We have, I think, ſufficiently demonſtrated
 in our Treatiſe about the Primitive *Italians*,
 annexed to the Hiſtory of *Diplomas*, that
 the *Hetrurians* otherwiſe alſo had not their
 Inſtitutions and Arts from the *Grecians*.
³ *Iſidorus* affirmed, that even the Word
Laniſta, given to thoſe who bought, main-
 tained, and trained the Gladiators to fighting,
 was *Hetrurian*, and in that Language ſig-
 nified a Hangman.

The ſame ⁴ Author believed alſo, that
 the Gladiators, called *Velites*, were ſo
 named from an *Hetrurian* City. This
 eſcaped *Lipſius*'s Obſervation, when other-
 wiſe he very learnedly illuſtrates the
 Matter, and enumerates the different Kinds

⁹ Sat. ¹ *Lerm. lib. 1. c. 8.*

³ Orig. l. 10. Carnifex Tuſca lingua.

² ὁ μνομαχῶν.

⁴ L. 18. c. 37.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 9

of them; but upon one of *Fabretti's* antique Stones we have them pointed out, and ranged among the other Classes of Gladiators; and I find them plainly named in *Ovid*, where he says,

*Utque petit primo plenum flauentis arenæ
Nondum calfacti velitis hasta solum;
Sic, &c.*

'Twas the Business of those *Velites* to begin the Games, as it was of the Military ones, to make the first Onset at Battles, and to be nimble and expeditious like them. *Isidore* further says, That in their Combats, the Clashing of their Spears, was more agreeable to the Spectators than any of the others. The *Flauens Arena*, mentioned by *Ovid*, indicates the Usage related by *Pliny*, of their mixing Crisocolia or Terraverd with the Sand: For my Part, I believe that they were the same kind of Gladiators spoke of in that Passage of *Artimedorus*, where he distinctly mentions them; only in the Place of *περσικὸς*, as we find in Print, it should be read *περσικόντος*, a Provoker or Challenger: That it ought to bear this Reading, appears to me plain, because the first Word is not to be found in either *Greek* or *Latin*; and I have with Pleasure since, search'd for a very curious *Manuscript* thereof in the publick Library of

¹ *Isid.* ² *L. 33. c. 5.* ³ *L. 2. c. 33.* ⁴ *Col. 1. 5. 5.*

10 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

St. Mark, in which I found its Reading in the last manner. The gladiatory Class of Challengers is mentioned by ¹ *Cicero*, wherein 'tis shewn, that those were the same, called *Velites*, who, as the very Word implies, first began the Games, challenging and provoking the others to Fight; but because they did not stand their Ground; but turned and ran to and fro, *Artimedorus* says, to dream of them, denoteth a wanton, pliable Woman..

Gladiatory Exercises, 'tis certain, were particular Usages among the most ancient Inhabitants of *Italy*, not only as they imagined them agreeable to the Dead, but diverting to the Living; being well adapted to their fierce and warlike Genius; nay, perhaps, they imagin'd that such Things might contribute not a little to excite Courage in the People. ¹ *Pliny the Younger* was of Opinion, that such kind of Shews were proper to inspire Fortitude, and make Men despise Wounds and Death, shewing that even the lowest Rank of Mankind were ambitious of Victory and Praise.

This Custom being introduced among the *Romans*, in process of Time they augmented it beyond measure, both with regard to their frequent Attendance at such

² *Pro. Sest.*

¹ *Paneg. c. 33.*

Enter-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 11

Entertainments, and the Pomp with which they were carried on. The first Time that in *Rome* the Solemnity of gladiatory Shews was exhibited, may be reckoned to have been in the *Varronian* Year 490, when the Two Brothers the ² *Bruti* caused three Couples of Gladiators to fight publicly, in Memory of their deceas'd Father, and to do Honour to his Obsequies. From the Honours done the Dead, these Things, as ³ *Tertullian* says, were immediately applied to the Living also; for as they were exceedingly agreeable to the Multitude, those who were advanced to certain eminent Stations in the State, began to have them celebrated at their own Charge, and that by way of Present or Retribution to the People, for having elected them; hence were they call'd ⁴ *Donatives*, or Gifts. The Places where those Combats were celebrated, (excepting in the earliest Times, when they fought before the Sepulchres) were, for the most part, in the Squares or open Places of the Cities, as being more spacious than the others, consequently fitter for containing and accommodating the Spectators; and in the Porticos of those Squares they made the Intercolumniations larger, on purpose that the View might be the less obstructed.

² *Epist. Liv. l. 16.*

³ *De Spect.*

⁴ *Munera.*

12 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

The first Game of the *Bruti*, already mentioned, we have an Account of from *Valerius Maximus*, and that it was in the *Forum Boarium*, called so from its being the Market for Oxen.

In *Polybius's* Time, viz. the 6th Age of Rome, the gladiatory Employment was reduced to an Art; hence they fought not only with mere Force, but several dexterous Kinds of Combating were invented.

CHAP. II.

Of the Games of Wild Beasts, and of the first Notion People had of making Amphitheatres.

THE first publick Shew of Wild Beasts exhibited, was in the Year of Rome 502¹, when the Elephants (taken from the *Carthaginians*, on the Victory obtained by *Lucius Metellus* in Sicily) were brought into the *Circus*: But if we rely on what *Pliny* quotes from *Fenestella*, the making them fight, was not in Use till about the middle of the following Age, when *Claudius Pulcher* was ² *Ædile*: But if we take the Authority of ³ *Seneca* and ⁴ *Asconius Pedia-*

¹ *Plin. l. 8. c. 6.*

² *C. 8.*

³ *Sen. Br. vit. c. 13.*

⁴ *Asc. in Pisonian.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 13

mus, it began only in the Time of *Pompey*; nor did the Combats of other Beasts ensue, till after the Second *Punic War*, when the *Carthaginian Africa* was reduced to a kind of Servitude.

In effect, the first mention that I can find of them in the *Roman History*, is in the Year 568, when *Marcus Fulvius* celebrated those Games with greater Pomp than has ever been since, and which, in the *Ætolic War* he vowed to perform. *Livy* relates, That at that Time, besides the Exercises of the *Athletæ*, which were first seen at *Rome*, there was a Hunting of Lions and Panthers given; that this was the first, I prove from the same Author, who most diligently mentions those Games from time to time, yet makes not the least mention of any anterior to this, unless it be in such of his Books as are wanting: But 20 Years after, at the *Circensian Games*, he there shews them to have been vastly improved and augmented in Pomp, where no less than 63 Panthers, 40 Bears, and some Elephants, were exposed to publick View. But Luxury and Riches by degrees increasing, *Marcus Scaurus* in his *Ædilate*, exhibited 150 Tygers, 5 Crocodiles, and an Hippopotamus or River Horse. But

¹ *Dio l. 43.*

⁶ *L. 43.*

⁷ *Plin. l. 8. cap. 16, 17, 26.*

14 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

as ¹ *Seneca* affirms, in the Prætorship of *Sylla*, two Lions were let loose, notwithstanding 'twas usual at first, to bring them into the *Circus* chain'd.

But *Pompey the Great*, at the Games he celebrated, on dedicating his Theatre, vastly exceeded all the rest which had gone before him; for after all the other Kinds of Diversions had been seen, the last ² five Days of the Games were spent in hunting the wild Beasts, where were ³ 410 Tygers, 500 Lions; and a Number of Elephants, shot at by *African* Men; the Lynx, the Rhinoceros, and a Number of strange Beasts were there shewn to publick View, even some brought from *Æthiopia*.

Cæsar, after the Civil War was ended, divided his hunting Games, so as to last five Days also, in the first of which the ⁴ Camleopard was shewn; at last, ⁵ 500 Men on Foot, and 300 on Horseback, were made to fight, together with 20 Elephants, and an equal Number more with ⁶ Turrets placed on their Backs, and defended by 60 Men; then, as to the Number of Gladiators, he very much surpass'd all that had been seen before, having, when *Ædile*, produced, as ⁷ *Plutarch* says, no less than 320 Couple of those Combatants.

¹ *Brev. vit. c. 1.* ² *Dio* 1. 39. ³ *Plut. in Pomp.*
⁴ *Cic. l. 7. c. 1.* ⁵ *Dio* 1. 43. ⁶ *Cæs. c. 39.* ⁷ *Plin.*
⁸ *l. 8. c. 7.* ⁹ *Plut. in Cæs.*

These

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 15

These Games being advanced to such a pitch of Magnificence, it became at last necessary to think on a new kind of Edifice, where they might be celebrated with more Convenience and Pleasure than before : In ⁶ *Cicero's* Time they either were performed in the Theatre or *Circus*. Yet as to Gladiators in the *Forum*, *Suetonius* mentions them in *Cæsar's* Time, and the Beasts to have been shewn in the *Circus*. 'Tis true, in ⁷ *Xephiline* we read, that the great Hunting which *Pompey* gave, as is already mentioned, was performed in the Theatre; but *Xephiline*, methinks, was in that Place too inaccurate an Abridger, especially if he was the Cause that four Sentences necessary for the Coherence and Sense, in which ⁸ *Dio* expresses himself, were cancelled, namely, That the Theatres were for Musick, but the *Circus* appropriated for the Wild Beasts.

The *Circus*, however, on account of its Bulk and Length, as it was adapted for the running of the *Bigæ* and *Quadrigæ*, behoved to render some kinds of Diversions in one Place, but of small Delight with Regard to what it did in others, the *Circus Maximus* being no less than three *Stadias* in Length, which were each the eighth Part

⁶ De Leggi l. 2. Lud. publici cum sint cavea circoque divisi.
⁷ C. 39. Munere in Foro, in Pomp. ⁸ Dio l. 39.

16 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

of a Mile, and one *Stadium* broad; I mean the *Area* alone, without the Buildings which surrounded it: Nay, in some Parts the View of the *Metæ* could not miss to be obstructed by the Obelisque, Altars, Pillars, Figures, and many other Things which were placed on the *Spina*; in Effect, at the above-mentioned Games, which *Cæsar* gave, they were obliged to remove the *Metæ*: besides, it was not convenient with regard to the Security of the Spectators. For which Reason we learn from *Pliny*, that at *Pompey's* Games the People were in Danger from the Elephants, which made Efforts to get out at the *Circus*; tho' *Cæsar* afterwards, when he exhibited the same kinds of Sports, caused Ditches to be dug round it: From all which they found it convenient to build an Edifice, which in a far less Circuit, and without the View's being interrupted, might contain a great many Spectators, with an *Area* free and open, which at the same Time would keep them safe from being annoyed by the wild Beasts.

It was not difficult to have an Idea of the Theatres which had been long in Use both in *Greece* and *Rome*: These they made spacious, and open at the Top; with a Semicircle of Steps, on which the Spectators in great Numbers sat: 'Twas easy to think of making another Semicircle of Steps, instead of the *Scena* which they used to place before it;

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 17

it; consequently contain a double Number of Spectators, and have an ample Space left in the Middle for the Combatants.

The first Time that the Effect of this was seen, was at that strange and ostentatious Entertainment made by *Caius Curio*, *Cæsar's* Partizan, who died in the Civil Wars. This *Curio* was Tribune of the People, and the same with whom *Cicero* often corresponded by Letters; he caused another Theatre to be built, bearing *Marcus Cælius's* Name: His Surname shews him to be of the *Scribonian* Family, and is the same *Curio Maximus* mention'd by *Livy*, who calls himself in another Place *Caius Scribonius Curio Maximus*. This Man, on his Father's Death, being desirous to give an Entertainment which should exceed all the other Shews exhibited before that Time, and not being able to vie with some other *Romans* in Riches, had Recourse to Invention, and indeed the Fabrick reared by him was a very good Specimen of what the Antients with regard to Architecture and Mechanical Art could perform. In fine, he erected two large and contiguous Theatres of Wood, but in such a manner that the Spectators were to sit with their Backs turned to one another, and the Scenes to be placed before them both: These

⁹ Lib. 8. Ep. 2. in *Theatrum Curionis*.

¹ Lib. 27. & 33.

18 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Theatres were not founded in the Ground, but flung, and supported in the Air; that is, they both rested on Hinges and Pivots, and so could move and turn round, together with the vast Number of People which were placed upon them.

In the Morning Scenary Diversions were exhibited, but after Mid-day the *Theatres* on a sudden were made to turn round till they came in front of each other; then driving down the Flooring of the Stage, the Horns of the respective *Theatres* began to join one with another and so formed an intricate Round or Circle: That is an *Amphitheatre*, in the *Area* of which the Gladiators came to fight. This agreeable Account with all its Circumstances we read in ² *Pliny*, to whom alone we are indebted for this and an Hundred other fine Descriptions: Tho' that Author exclaims a little against the Boldness of the Undertaking, in causing the whole Number of Tribes and the Governors of the World to be suspended in the Air in such a manner, and placed in a Machine, as if on Board two Ships; yet could he not refrain applauding the Invention, notwithstanding the Danger in which he himself had been, and tho' his Life had only depended on two Hinges, appearing as if the whole *Roman* People had (like Gladiators) been to fight

² *Plin. l. 36. c. 15.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 19

before the Tomb of *Curio's* Father: However, no Damage ensued, only on the last Day, some Parts of the Machine being weakned and out of Order, they did not trust to its being moved round; but kept it in the Form of an *Amphi-Theatre*, as it had been the Evening before: so that the Scenes were brought into the Middle, and the *Athletæ* shewn thereon; then on a sudden removing the Flooring, the Gladiators who had been victorious the Day before were made to appear.

But how very desirable would it have been if *Pliny* had not been so sparing of Words, and had distinctly described the Artifice, and the Manner how the whole immense Weight was supported securely, by the Disposition of the Beam, and the Caution with which the Pivots were placed, so as not to give Way and sink downwards; and with what kind of Capstans such uncommon Machines were made moveable, and capable of being turned round, or if the Scenes were also moved round with them: or if by removing them, the Semicircle of Steps only was moved in the same Manner.

Those learned Men who have published and given Commentaries on *Pliny*, had here a fine Opportunity of doing themselves Honour. *Daniel Barbaro*, in his Notes on *Vitruvius*, affirms, That one *Francisco Marcaloni*, a Person ready and happy in determining

20 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

mining Questions of this Nature, made him (he says) understand perfectly in what Manner the two Theatres could move round; and where the Center was to be placed, and the Pivots laid: All which is shewn by *Barbaro* on two loose Sheets, added to the End of his Book, and which were made to turn just as that ingenious Man already mentioned had conceived about the Theatres; yet such small Essays are not methinks sufficient to explain so uncommon a Work, nor to resolve the Difficulties which appear to those skilled in such Things: 'Tis however credible, that the Hinges had not the whole Weight resting on them, as *Pliny* says; but served chiefly to hold the Theatres together in the Line of Division, when they turned, the greatest Part, resting on Wheels of Metal, and not upon one Pivot alone.

C H A P. III.

Of the Amphitheatres that were first built.

THE above-mentioned curious Invention was rather a kind of Prelude to the Amphitheatres than in Reality a Beginning to them; so that to determine when either they or the Hunting wild Beasts in them, began, was such a Difficulty, that
Lip-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 21

Lipſius confeſſes he had ſpent therein much Time in vain : But concerning wild Beaſts and Amphitheatres alſo, we have already ſeen a clear Evidence. As to the firſt of the Amphitheatres, a Paſſage in *Dio* (quoted by *Lipſius*, tho' not well conſider'd by him) illuſtrates this Point: That incomparable Hiſtorian ſays, That *Cæſar*, at the Dedication of his *Forum* and the Temple of *Venus* built by him, exhibited many and various kinds of Games; *having erected a hunting Theatre of Wood, called indeed an Amphi-Theatre, becauſe of the Seats placed around it without Scenes.*

From theſe Words 'tis plain in what Manner the Thing itſelf and its Name began, tho' the firſt Authors in which I find the Word *Amphi-Theatre*, are *Strabo* and *Dionyſius*, who were both in *Auguſtus's* Time. *Dionyſius*, ſpeaking of the Works of the two Kings the *Tarquins*, has in one Place this Exprefſion, τὸν Ἀμφιθεάτρων ἱπποδρόμον; and in another, ὅταν Ἀμφιθεάτρων: But I believe both theſe Paſſages (by the Fault of the Tranſcribers) are now read wrong. For as *Portico Amphitheatre* or *Amphitheatre Circus* would not ſound well in the Vulgar Language, neither does it appear that thoſe

¹ *Amph. c. 5. diu quaſivi fruſtra.*

² *Lib. 43. Θέατρον π κωνηαπιδν ἱπποδρόμου, ὃ καὶ Ἀμφιθεάτρον ἐκ τῆ πλεῖς πανταχόθεν ἱδρας ἀνισχυμένης ἔχειν ἀποσπρέσθαι*
³ *Str. li 5.*

⁴ *D. Hal. li 3. C. 4.*

22 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

two Substantives hang well together in the *Greek*: So that 'tis my Opinion that all this might be remedied, by only erasing one single Letter, and so to read it ἀμφιθέατρον; *Portico* and *Circus*, where People could stand and see from every Part. So that a certain Shew, mentioned in the Acts of St. *Tharacus* the Martyr, was for the same Reason called ἀμφιθέαμα. The *Greek* Word for Amphitheatre might be render'd in the *Italian* *Circonvisorio*, viz. a Place where one sees all round from every Part thereof: and as that Place we call *Auditorio*, or *Auditory*, from our hearing therein, what we are now describing, we shall call *Viditory*, from seeing; for so it was called in *Latin*, *Visorium*, by *Cassiodorus*: Hence is that Passage in *St. John Chrysostom*, ἄλλο θέατρον ὧδε καὶ ἄλλο ἀνεργατήριον; which in all the printed Copies is render'd, *Aliud est heic Theatrum aliud Auditorium*: tho' more properly they might say, *Aliud est heic Visorium*, &c. Theatre in *Latin* implying both the *Visorium* and *Auditorium*.

But to return to *Dio*; that Author continuing to give an Account, in the foremention'd Passage, says, *Cæsar*, by those Dedications, and in Memory of his deceased Daughter, exhibited Games; wherein *Beasts* were slain, and Men seen to fight,

² *Var. l. 41.*

⁶ In *Psalm*. xlix.

⁷ *Lib. 43.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 23

indicating the double Use to which the new Fabrick was to be applied.

In *Rome* therefore, and not in *Greece*, did the Amphitheatres begin, and may boast of the Glory in having the Founder of the *Roman Empire* for its first Inventor.

Cæsar caused his Amphitheatre to be made of Wood, as they always had been before *Pompey's* Time, who, according to ² *Tacitus*, made his of Stone.

But the supreme Government in the Republick devolving on *Augustus*, he, as *Victor Junius* relates, being of a fertile and jovial Disposition, was a great Admirer of Publick Shews; particularly, of seeing wild Beasts fight: So that from the *Lapis Anciranus* we learn, that ⁹ about 3500 of those Animals were slain at the Hunting he exhibited. And ¹ *Dio* asserts, that he was the first who caused the *Hippopotamus* and *Rhinoceros* to be seen. And, as we may gather from *Suetonius*, in the Life of ² *Vespasian*, he had a Design to build an Amphitheatre of Stone, tho' it never was put in Execution. However, in his Time, *Statilius Taurus*, afterwards Consul and Præfect of *Rome*, undertook the Affair, thinking perhaps it might be agreeable to that Emperor; an Account of which we have in ³ *Dio*, who says, that

⁸ *Annal.* l. 14. ⁹ *Grut.* p. 233. ¹ *Lib.* 51. ² *Cap.* 10.

³ *Lib.* 15. Θέατρον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κτιστικὸν λίθινον.

24 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

before the fourth Consulate of Augustus was at an End, Statilius Taurus, at his own Charge, erected a Hunting Theatre of Stone, in the Campus Martius; and dedicated it by the Combats of armed Men: But, according to Strabo, in the above-mention'd Passage, it would appear, that it was not properly in the Campus Martius, but near it. However, the Amphitheatre itself was but inconsiderable; tho' on account of the Novelty of the Thing, Statilius deserved to have been elected one of the yearly Prætors, as a Reward from the People: tho' the Edifice itself was not a Work equal to his Fame, nor adapted for that which Rome then wanted. Isidorus writes, that Curio was the first who out of two Theatres of Wood made one compleat Amphitheatre, and how ⁴ that Statilius Taurus caused a small one of Stone to be erected: Yet we do not find this Passage of Isidorus in any printed Book of that Author, but only cited by ⁵ Guglielmo Pastrengo, a Veronese Writer, cotemporary with Petrarch, who in other Places shews that he had Isidorus's Books from more ample Originals than what are remaining at present. For my part, I argue with more Certainty about the Inconsiderableness of that Edifice, by considering how the solemn Games celebrated two Years after, notwithstanding

⁴ Parvum lapideum condidit.

⁵ P. 25.

they

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 25

they had been before decreed on account of the 'Victory at *Actium*; yet the Prisoners fought within a *Stadium* of Wood, built likewise for that End in the *Campus Martius*. The Huntings given in the Prætorship of *Drusus*, and on the Birth-Day of *Augustus*, were in the *Circus*. Those Shews by Water, given by that Emperor were in the *Circus Flaminius*, in which 36 Crocodiles were killed; and this we learn from *Dio*, who says, that at the Funeral Combats, particularly on the Death of *Agrippa*, the Gladiators fought Man to Man, then with equal Numbers against one another: The same Author likewise relates how they were performed in the ' Enclosure of the *Comitia*, as well in Honour of *Agrippa*, as for having finished and ornamented that Place; because ' *they could not exhibit them in the Forum on account of the Conflagration which happen'd there, where several Buildings had been destroyed round about it.*

From all which I think it plainly appears, that they little regarded the Amphitheatre of *Tanrus*; which Conjecture I confirm, by observing that afterwards they even continued to build such Structures of Wood: Besides, 'tis credible that the Building itself was not intirely of Stone; but only perhaps the Steps, and may have had other Parts of

⁶ *Dio lib. 53. & 54.*

⁷ *Ex τῷ Σενεκά.*

⁸ *Lib. 55.*

26 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Wood: Hence we read in *Dio*, as he is epitomized, that ⁹ in *Nero's* Time it was burnt; nor even after, on the Occasion of all the many Publick Games exhibited, does any Historian mention that Theatre: Nor does it signify, that it was called *Lapideus*, or a *Stone-Work* by *Dio*; for that Historian called *Trajan's* Bridge, over the *Danube*, a Stone Work also, tho' the Piers of it were only of Stone, and the upper Part Wood, as appears from *Trajan's* Pillar, and even as it may be gathered from the Context of *Dio* himself. In fine, we may observe that *Vitruvius*, in his long Account of the Structure of Theatres, mentions nothing about Amphitheatres; from which we may very well argue, that no considerable or fixed Amphitheatre had as yet been seen; yet that his Books were published after *Taurus's* Amphitheatre was erected, may be fairly conjectured from the Preface, wherein he speaks with *Augustus* as already fixed in the Possession of the Government, and as having turned his Thoughts to ornament *Rome* with fine Buildings. Moreover, that in this Emperor's Reign, fundry Amphitheatres of Wood were to be seen in *Rome*, may be gathered from what *Augustus* himself is reported to have said in the ¹ *Lapis Ancyranus*, namely, that he had exhibited several magnificent

⁹ P. 709. & Leuncl. τὸ Θέατρον τῶ. Ταύρου ἐκαλεῖτο. P. 709. Xiph. γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀσπίον. ¹ Grut. p. 232. in Amphitheatris.

Games,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 27

Games, both in the Circus, the Forum, and Amphitheatres.

After the Time of *Augustus*, ² *Caligula* began another Amphitheatre, but never finished it: As to gladiatory Combats, and the like, *Suetonius* writes how that Emperor made then use of the *Septa*, viz. the Inclosure of the *Comitia*, and sometimes of *Statilius Taurus's* Amphitheatre; but *Dio* affirms, and agrees much better with the other Accounts, that *Caligula* had his Games performed only in the *Septa*, except sometimes in Places which he encompassed with Palisades: for which End he caused large Buildings to be thrown down, in order to make Openings whenever he had a mind, ³ because he did not at all value the Amphitheatre of *Taurus*.

Claudius delighted greatly in Publick Games, the most solemn Gladiatory One he had performed in the *Septa*; nay, some modern Writers assert, that out of the *Septa* he built an Amphitheatre, for which they cite ⁴ *Suetonius*: Tho' that Author, in *Caligula's* Life, says otherwise, and that he undertook two Works, viz. an *Aqueduct*, and an *Amphitheatre* in the *Septa*; one of which Works *Claudius* finished, but not the other: And in the same Life of *Claudius* he affirms, that what he did finish was the *Aqueduct*;

² Cal. c. 21, & 18.

³ L. 59. Το γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο θέατρον

ὑπερβόρνον.

⁴ Suet. Cl. 21.

28 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

consequently the *Amphitheatre* had been laid aside. Nero, ⁶ who also liked Publick Shews, built a new Amphitheatre of Wood for that Purpose in the *Campus Martius*, and finished it within a Year. That it was well founded, of a great Size, and firmly supported by large Beams, we learn from ⁷ *Tacitus*. *Pliny* likewise says, ⁸ it had a Beam of the *Larix*-Tree, about 120 Foot in Length, and two in Breadth, running equal from one End to the other; which, together with another, were carried to *Rome*, by *Tiberius*'s Order, from *Rhætia*, our Neighbouring Country: When that Emperor caused the Bridge at the *Naumachia* to be rebuilt, and by him shewn for a Wonder, and preserved a long Time after as a Rarity.

After the Example of *Rome*, 'twas but a short Time till other Cities began likewise to build Amphitheatres; so that in the same Reign of *Tiberius* one *Attilius* built a large one near *Fidena*, which Town, as ⁹ *Dionysius* says, was about five Miles from *Rome*: but the Foundation thereof having not been carried thro' the whole Fabrick, and the Frame of the Wood-work not securely linked together, it therefore happened at the Celebration of one of their Games that the Weight of the Spectators bore it down all of a sud-

⁶ Ner. c. 12. *Amphitheatro ligneo intra anni spatium fabricato.* ⁷ Ann. l. 13. *landandis fundamentis & trabibus; &c.*

⁸ Pl. l. 16. c. 39, & 40. ⁹ Dion. Hal. l. 2.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 29

den, which, as ¹ *Suetonius* says, occasioned the Death of above twenty-thousand Persons; nay, ² *Tacitus* asserts, that between Dead and Wounded there were above fifty-thousand.

Another very beautiful Amphitheatre, was built without the Walls of ³ *Placentia*, and, as the same ³ Author reports, the Largest of any in *Italy*; so that there were many others: That this was built of Wood we may safely conclude, because in the Time of the Civil Wars between *Vitellius* and *Otho*, when a tumultuary Assault was made on that City, by the Torches and Fire thrown from the two Parties against one another, it was set on fire, blazed out in flames, and was reduced to Ashes; They suspected that it had been done maliciously by some of the neighbouring Colonies, because of the Envy they had against one another.

. C H A P. IV.

Of the Amphitheatre of TITUS, called the Colosseum, not on account of NERO'S Colossus.

VESPASIAN at last undertook to erect his Amphitheatre of Stone, reckoned the Prodigy of all the antient Buildings, of which even the mere Shell or Crust re-

¹ *Ti. c. 42.*

² *Ann. l. 4.*

³ *Hist. l. 2.*

maining
†

30 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

maining to this Day, begets Wonder, having surely been the most superb, and best understood Edifice in the World: Nor did *Martial*, without Reason assert, that the Pyramids and *Mausoleums* ought to yield to it, and Fame to speak of it alone above all the others.

Cassiodorus asserts, That the Expence thereof was sufficient to have built a capital City; and *Vespasian* knowing it would appear august, determin'd it should be placed in the Center of *Rome*, tho' in his own Reign it was neither finished, nor the Work very much advanced: And yet, that it was perfected in his Time, one (who gives Faith to the Medals of that Emperor handed about) ought to believe, since on these Medals is this *Amphitheatre* represented fine and entire; but I own all of this Kind, which I ever saw, are spurious, nor indeed are any but false Coins of it to be seen. *Mezzabarba*, on the Credit of others, has register'd one, with a third Consulate upon it, but any one may see how incongruous that is: Nay, the same Author, on the Faith of *Occo*, gave a Place to another more esteemed with the eighth Consulate upon it, which by *Lipsius* was receiv'd as genuine; which Piece of Imposture I have in my own Collection, and as finely wrought as is pos-

¹ Ep. 1.

² Var. lib. 4, 42. divitiarum profuso flumine cogitavit, Ædificium fieri, unde caput urbiū potuisset.

fible,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 31

fible, but it happens that the eighth Consul-
late of *Vespasian* coincides with the sixth
of *Titus*, in which Year, or the next fol-
lowing *Pliny* finish'd his Book, as we may
plainly learn from the Dedication thereof to
Titus, where he styles him the sixth Time
Consul: Now who can possibly believe, if
this Building had then been finished, or
near compleated, that That ³ Author would
not have mention'd it, considering how ve-
ry partial he was to *Vespasian's* Glory, espe-
cially in treating of the famous Buildings
of *Rome*; among the first of which he on-
ly places the Temple of Peace, made by
Vespasian. Some, I own, give for Answer,
that we ought to believe the Medal, where-
on is the Representation of the Amphithe-
atre, to have been struck after *Vespasian's*
Death, in Memory of his having begun it;
but in such a Case, by the Inscription, he
would be stiled *Divus*, not Consul; how-
ever, That this Amphitheatre was for the
most Part built in the Reign of *Titus*, may
be gathered from *Eutropius*, the *Chronica* of
St. *Jerome*, St. *Prosperus*, and *Cassiodorus*,
who absolutely affirm, that it was erected
by him; the same may also be learned
from the Compend of *Dio*, who mentions
it not as having been built in *Vespasian's*
Time, but in that of *Titus*; and says, That

³ *Plin. l. 36. c. 15.*

32 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the former having no Delight in gladiatory Combats, exhibited the Hunting of wild Beasts in the Theatres; but *Xiphiline* confounding the Names of those Things one with another, it is to be understood in the *Circi*; in this Manner does *Martial* exalt *Titus*. * *Victor*, in the Lives of the *Cæsars*, says, That this vast Building was begun in *Vespasian's* Time, but finished by *Titus*, and shews that the latter died a little after it had been perfected. *Suetonius* affirms the same, and that this happened after the publick Games were ended, meaning those performed at the Dedication of the Amphitheatre: Hence we may conclude, that he had carried on the Work all the Time his Government lasted. It was dedicated by *Titus* in his own, and not in his Father's Name; at which Solemnity, *Eutropius* says, 5000 wild Beasts were kill'd. *Dio* makes the Number 9000, and to them adds 4 Elephants, and that likewise naval Combats were given, † having on a sudden brought Water into the Amphitheatre. In these at first were Animals, afterwards a Number of Ships made to fight, as if they had belonged to the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians*; the antient War between which People is described by *Thucydides*:. And if we may believe *Martial*, † People from every Part of

* *Amphitheatri tanta vis, &c. perfecto opere interiit.*

† Lib. 66. ἵδμεν ἡμίσητον πλεῖον. † Ep. 3.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 33

the known World flock'd to *Rome* to see those Games. This stupendous Pile is by an immemorial Tradition called the *Coliseo* at *Rome*; in *Latin* it is found wrote *Coliseum* and *Colosseum*: All modern Writers have for a long Time unanimously agreed, That this Amphitheatre was so named, because, as they say, the *Colossus* of *Nero* stood at a little Distance from it; but I shall here propose a few Things to be considered on this Head, and then let People judge, if it ought to have that Denomination. The *Colossus* of *Nero*, which was an hundred and twenty Foot high, and the Work of *Zenodorus*, was plac'd in the *Vestibul* of his *Domus Aurea*, or House of Gold; we have also an Epigram in *Martial*, where *Titus* is greatly prais'd for having converted that large Spot of Ground in *Rome* (which had been fill'd with *Nero's* House) to publick Use, and for having restored it to the Community, in which we see, that where the *Atrium*, or Entry to the House had been, there did *Titus* make a Street, at a little Distance from which there was a *Colossus*: And we plainly perceive that this venerable Structure was not built where the *Atrium* or *Vestibul* stood, but where the *Fish-ponds* had been made, which of Course were at a good Distance from the *Vestibul*. Near the

¹ *Su. Ner. c. 18.*

² *Plin. l. 34. c. 7.*

³ *Ep. 2.*

⁴ *Stagna Neronis erant.*

34 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Amphitheatre, where formerly Gardens and Walks had been, he made *Thermæ*, or Hot-baths, called by *Martial*, *Velocia Munera*, quick Gratuities; the Reason of this Appellation we learn from ⁸ *Suetonius*, namely, that they were made in Haste. Some other Considerations seem to convince, that the *Colossus* of *Nero* stood at no small Distance from the Amphitheatre, and that the said huge Statue was afterwards removed out of its Place, and transported elsewhere by *Hadrian*; according to *Spartianus*, it was then dedicated to the Sun; however, we know from ⁹ *Pliny*, that this had been taken away immediately after *Nero's* own Time, on Account of his Wickedness. Yet, as *Suetonius* says, when *Vespasian* had caused it to be again set up, *Commodus* altered it, having taken off the Head, and placed his own thereon. Now ¹ *Spartian* affirms, that in the Situation where the *Colossus* had stood, the Temple of the Goddess *Roma* was placed, which does not appear to have been close to the Amphitheatre, but undoubtedly at a good Distance from it; for *Victor* mentions it as situated in a very different Part of the Town. The same Author likewise places a *Colossus*, distinguished from the others, and of equal Size, in a Situation very distant from the Amphitheatre. And

⁸ In T. c. 7. ⁹ Plin. l. 34. cap. 7. *Damnatis sceleribus illius principis.* ¹ De eo loco in quo nunc Templum urbis est.

indeed,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 35

indeed, as to that of which we now speak, it might be well distinguished from the others, as having seven Rays projecting from the Head, which shews it sacred to the Sun. From all which it appears, that the Amphitheatre could not take its Name from the *Colossus*, as being neither near it, nor belonging to it any way whatsoever. And indeed, had a *Colossus* been placed near so vast and awful an Edifice, instead of taking its Name from its being a Statue, 'tis more credible that the Statue itself took its Denomination from the Building; of this we have a clear Example in ^a *Pliny*, who says, that a *Colossus* of *Jupiter* as large as a Tower, placed by *Claudius* in the *Campus Martius*, as being near the Theatre of *Pompey*, was called the *Pompeian Colossus*.

But, should it be asked from whence I think the Origin of the foresaid Denomination came, I answer, from the Comparison of this with other Amphitheatres, it appearing as much superior in Bulk to them, as a *Colossus* does among other Statues, and from the Custom that People had of calling every thing by that Name, which exceeded others in Greatness. This Thought occur'd to me long ago, by reading in *Suetonius*, that in the Time of *Caligula*, *Esus Proculus*, on

^a *Lib. 34. cap. 7. Vocatur Pompeianus a vicinitate Theatri.*

36 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

account of the ' vast Size and fine Shape of his Body was called *Colossæros*, or *Colossæo*, as it ought to be wrote in that Place. I likewise observed in the Epistles of ' *Cassiodorus*, that a certain great Person was called by the Name of *Colossæus* (or like a *Colossus*) on account of his great Strength. Besides, ' *Vitruvius* uses the Expression, in speaking of the greater Kinds of Weights, he terms them Weights more *Colossæan*; which shews that this Word was used to express a Thing of a large Size; just as in *Greek*, sometimes they make use of the Names of a Horse and an Ox, in compound- ing Words. Afterwards in running over the History of ' *Erchempertus* the Monk, in *Camillo Peregrini's* Edition of that Au- thor, I was sure of the whole, where, in the second *Tome*, concerning the *Italian Af- fairs*, he twice calls the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, *Colosso* (which perhaps ought to be read *Colossæum*) and certain it is, that the *Colossus* of *Nero* had never been set up there. And indeed it appears, that Amphi- theatres had that Name given them, on ac- count of their marvellous Height. *Calphur- nius*, in his ' Eclogues, speaking of the Am- phitheatre of *Rome*, confirms this, and says,

³ Cal. c. 35. ob egregiam Corporis Amplitudinem, & Speciem Colossæros dictus.

⁴ Var. lib. 3. Ep. 3. Nomine viribusque Præpotenti.

⁵ Lib. 10. c. 4. Κολοσνικότερον ὄνεια.

⁶ Cap. 44. lib. 73. qui in Colosso morabantur.

⁷ Eclog. 7.

that

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 37

that it surmounted the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock in Height, appearing to reach up to the Heavens. So far had I wrote some Months ago, when from *Capua* I receiv'd the Book lately published by the Canon *Alessio Mazochio*, concerning the Amphitheatre at that Place, and which, in a genteel Manner, was sent me by the most worthy Magistrates there, and from their noble Chief *Giuseppe di Capua Capece*. This Book contains so much Learning, and is so very elegant, that those exalted Minds which delight in seeing the high Pitch to which Letters are arrived at this time in *Italy*, ought to rejoice; but, as to the Name *Colosseo*, given to the *Roman* Amphitheatre, I find that Author is positively of the same Opinion, and proves it by Passages in *Vitruvius* and *Erchempertus*, but most especially by that Interpretation given of the Word *Κολοσσα*, by *Hesychius*; all which confirm'd me in the foresaid Opinion.

And yet it may be not altogether incredible, but that the Amphitheatre, by some Accident or other, might, as is commonly believed, have taken its Denomination from a *Colossus*: However, I shall only add, that if ever it had been so, it most certainly was not from that of *Nero*, but rather from the *Colossus* of *Titus*. We have a kind of Evidence of this before us in the two Medals in Plate I. the first of which

38 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

shews a Figure with an Olive Branch in its Hand, sitting in the Curule Chair, placed upon military Trophies, by which probably is represented the *Colossus* of *Titus*. Another exceedingly like that we see likewise sitting in the Curule Seat, on a Medal struck in Honour of *Tiberius*, with this Legend, *Civitatibus Asiae restitutis*, where the Face of *Tiberius* is excellently represented, which Medal we find afterwards struck by an excellent and ingenious Artificer, whereon I believe a Statue is manifestly represented, as having been erected on Account of that Emperor's having re-edified the Cities of *Asia* which had been ruin'd by an Earthquake. That this Statue was of the Nature of a *Colossus* we may fairly conjecture, from a Marble Base of another *Colossus* like it, found at *Pozzuolo* in the Year 1693, with the Representation of those *Asiatick* Cities engraven round it, with Inscriptions thereon, and published by *Bullione* and *Fabretti*; on this Affair *Lawrence Gronovius* wrote a Book, so that I think we need not doubt, but that the Statue resembling *Titus* was also a *Colossus*. It was convenient for the Artificers to make those *Colossus's* in a sitting Posture, because in that Manner they could give greater Firmness to the Figure *. *Pliny* mentions one of

* Lib. 36. cap. 5. *Mars etiamnum Sedens Colosseus.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 39

Mars sitting. And indeed by such a Discovery as this, we may well judge the Meaning of sitting Figures on Medals: There is another like this with a Branch in its Hand, having also Ensigns of Divinity, a radiated Crown, a Spear, or rather Scepter, with this Legend, *Divus Augustus Vespasianus*; by which we see it represents a Statue of that Emperor, as erected by Decree of the Senate, for the Reverse has nothing else in the middle but S. C. That this was of the Nature of a *Colossus* we may probably conjecture, if we consider those who ordered the making of it, and the Person for whom it was made. In that common Medal of *Augustus*, whereon is the same kind of Figure, like that of *Titus* sitting in the Curule Chair, and an Olive Branch in its Hand, where it is perfectly well preserved, we may plainly see *Augustus's* Face. Hence 'tis clear, that a Statue of him seems to have been consecrated, after his Death, to his Memory. *Consensu Senatus & Equestris Ordinis, Populique Romani*. In this Manner, ° as *Dio* says, were they erected while that Emperor was alive, every one contributing thereunto. *Martial* calls the *Colossus* of *Domitianus Statius*, that of *Augustus*; and *Publius Victor* affirms, that there were above 88 *Colossus's* in *Rome*

° *Lib. 54.*

42 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

ful Shews exhibited by *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcus Commodus*, the *Gordians*, *Probus*, and others; the Authors in the *Historia Augusta* speak of them, 'tis true, yet we are not always strictly bound in Conscience to believe some Passages therein, I mean with regard to the Number of Men and Beasts, and the rather, because *Dio* gives us a very wholesome Caution to the contrary, because flattering Fame is, he says, generally in the magnifying Side, the Custom then in use being to aggrandize the Relations they give of Things. *Septimius Severus*, for the first Time, exposed the *Crocota*, an *Indian* Animal, to publick View, and in the Area of the Amphitheatre built a Receptacle for those Animals in Form of a Ship, which being thrown down all of a sudden, four Hundred wild Beasts of all Kinds came out. I believe in *Xiphiline* it ought to be read forty, because in the Sequel it is mention'd, that in all, a Hundred in a Day were kill'd; so we cannot suppose four Hundred brought out in one single Day. This Ship is represented on a Medal of *Severus*, referr'd to by *Mezabarba*.

But in treating of these repaired Amphitheatres, the first was that of *Antoninus Pius*, mentioned by *Capitolinus*. The Author of

* Lib. 43. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅτι τὸ μᾶλλον κομποῦται.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 43

the little Book relating to this Affair, prefix'd to *Gronovius's Greek Antiquities*, was, methinks, too liberal to that Emperor, when he attributed the Fabrick of the *Colosseum* to him ; nay, he likewise affirms, that *Terence* had one of his Comedies recited in the Amphitheatre. Next follows the Amphitheatre mentioned by *Lampridius*, and repaired by *Heliogabalus*, after it had been burnt, * that is, after the great Damage it sustain'd by the Thunder that fell upon it, and which had greatly deform'd it in the Beginning of *Macrinus's* Government, as we learn from the Fragments in *Dio* : And yet perhaps this Repairing of it was not perfected by *Heliogabalus*, but in his Successor's Time, *Alexander Severus*, since we have a Medal of the latter with the Amphitheatre represented thereon. *Capitolinus* in Effect says, that he restored several Fabricks built by the Princes his Predecessors : And this same *Lampridius* avers, that the Emperor appropriated the Tax laid on the Whores, as a Fund for re-edifying all the publick Buildings for Shews, perhaps, because these Harlots were used to live in or about such Places. The same Author says, that after the two *Gordians* were slain, the Consul, in the Time of these Revolutions, for having mentioned Affairs of small Con-

* *Post exustionem.*

‡ *In Max. & Balb.*

sequence,

44 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

sequence, was reproved by him who spoke first in the Senate: Among the Number of which Things was not that *de Edificatione*, the Building only, which Passage * *Lipfius* and † *Spanheim* quote, and which would bear a different Meaning, but *de ex-ædificatione*, the finishing of the Amphitheatre. It is, however, most credible, that the giving the finishing Stroke, in re-edifying the Amphitheatre, was afterwards, in the Time of *Gordianus Pius*, as appears by that famous Medalion of him, with the Amphitheatre represented thereon: And notwithstanding the Word *Munificentia* in the Legend seems to allude to the Games exhibited, yet, the Analogy which the other Medals have with such an Edifice, shews that we ought rather to understand it in the Manner I have mentioned, more especially since *Capitolinus*, in the Life of *Gordian*, gives no Account of publick Games celebrated by him, but of some prepared for that End, where were a thousand Couple of Gladiators, and a great Number of strange Beasts; all which *Philip* afterwards made use of in the *Ludi seculares*, or secular Games.

St. *Jerome*, in *Eusebius's Chronica*, besides the above-mentioned Conflagration of the Amphitheatre, speaks of another which happened in the Time of *Decius*, about

* *Amph. cap. 6.* † *Pr. Num. Dif. 3. c. 7.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 45

the re-edifying which I find no Mention in Authors. What that was which did burn on such Occasions, and why the Amphitheatre required to be so frequently repaired, we shall shew in another Place. The last Record we have of such a Kind of Damage sustain'd, is that mention'd in one of *Constantine's* Laws, in the Year 321 ; when *Maximus*, the Prefect of *Rome*, declared that the Amphitheatre had been struck from Heaven, viz. with a Thunder-bolt, of which Notice was given upon Account of the Ominousness believed to be in Thunder, and the Necessity of having the Omen interpreted. Of what regards the restoring or re-edifying these Fabricks, we might have the last Mention made in a Stone which Monsignor *Ciampini* is said to have had in *Rome* ; where it is related, how *Theodorick* caus'd the *Colosseum* to be repaired. 'Tis not, I own, unlikely, but that may have happen'd, considering what a particular Care that Emperor took, in preserving the fine Buildings at *Rome*, as we find in the *Variae* of *Cassiodorus* : But Monsignor *Bianchini* (who was most intimate with the aforesaid Prelate, and who, after his Death, took a great deal of Pains to put his Curiosities in order, to add them to that inestimable *Musæum* of Cardinal *Alexander Albani*)

⁶ *Cod. Th. de Pagan. l. 1. de tactu Amphitheatr.*

assures

46 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

assures me, that there never was such a Stone in *Ciampini's* Collection. In one of *Fabretti's* ⁷ Inscriptions are these Words, *Villicus Amphitheatri*, an Office never before known, and which signify'd the Person who had the Care of the Amphitheatre given him. In ⁸ *Cassiodorus's* Time we find the same Word *Villicus* made use of for a Defender and Keeper.

The judicious Reader may have observed, that very much is learned by Medals in this Affair, and indeed in the Sequel he'll still find their Use: Those Authors who have treated on the Subject, ought to have begun with this; and yet *Panvinius*, who design'd to write thereon, was the only Person that ever thought of this Method, and who, in his *Circensian* Games, has not only given us the Medals, with the *Circus* upon them, but those likewise of *Titus*, *Domitian*, and *Alexander Severus*, with the Amphitheatre represented there; for the Medal of *Gordianus* had not been published at that time.

The foremention'd Author has not given us any Medal of *Vespasian*, struck when that Emperor was alive, but one after he had been deified; and 'tis not unlikely, tho' at present not to be seen: For which Reason, since we have nothing but the Re-

⁷ *Insc. p. 3.* ⁸ *Var. lib. 5. 39.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 47

mains of the Amphitheatre, I have thought it convenient, first to shew the Figure of the Structure as it was when entire, and then to exhibit all the Medals whereon it is found engraven, that so by the History we may have Light therein. The first which appears in the foregoing Plate annexed, has, till now, not been seen nor published; that of *Divus Titus* is preserved in a great Number of Collections, but coined while the Emperor himself was alive, and in the Time of his last Consulship, namely, the eighth. It is of a more than common Size, insomuch that it might be reckoned a Medallion, if its Bulk was altogether sufficient, but in Effect it is a Degree smaller than some of the largest Medals; as to its being genuine, that I think is out of doubt, and may be an Unic, for what we know as yet: 'Tis in the Possession of the noble *Christin Martinelli* at *Venice*, to whose Bounty the Learned are greatly indebted. The second Medal of *Titus*, notwithstanding 'tis very rare, yet still is less curious than the others, tho' the Original thereof, as is here represented, and in my own Collection, is exceedingly rare, as being somewhat larger than the others, and of *Lead*. A certain Person, who has the greatest Skill in these Things of any in this Age, in the Estimate he made of a Cabinet of Medals (not with Design to make a Purchase of them,

48 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

them, but meerly for the Information of the Proprietor) valued this one as being much more curious and rare than any other found of a different Metal. The first and infallible Proof of its being genuine, is its Lightness, in Comparison with the like Quantity of modern Lead; the second, is the inimitable Rust thereon; to this Rust we ought chiefly to attribute its Conservation, a thing uncommon in Lead really antique: And besides, because the Medal is not quite so light as others are. I have a *Mithridates* of Lead incredibly light; but as to that of which we are speaking, 'tis plain, that the Evaporation thereof has partly been hindered by the Rust. The other three Medals are in the *Musæum* of the great Duke, where surely there is the most elegant and best chosen Collection that is to be seen any where; and in which likewise is the second Medal we mentioned of *Titus*, but not that of *Vespasian*, nor others, of which they boast.

Seignor *Bastiano Bianchi*, the Keeper of that Treasure, has greatly assisted our Design, and is a Person no less to be commended for Knowledge than Civility. Some People, I doubt not, will wonder why I have exhibited these Medals only, and not others, so frequently to be seen in Books, for no less than eleven of the like kind has *Mezzabarba* published:

But

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 49

But 'tis most undoubtedly certain, that except those five already mentioned, 'tis very difficult to find the Amphitheatre on any Medal really genuine, since hitherto the others, by which this Matter is pretended to be illustrated, are either Counterfeits, or have been mistaken by People, who pretend to see Amphitheatres where in reality there are none. I have observed in some Authors, who go into the other extreme, that because of the many spurious Coins handed about, some of which are even in famous Collections, they doubt of the whole, and believe that the Amphitheatre is not all to be seen upon any antique Coin. But *Rafaele di Volterra* [who lived in an Age before this abominable Practice of falsifying Medals began] affirm'd, that he had seen the Representation of the Amphitheatre on several Antique Coins; and indeed these exhibited here, have past the Censure of the greatest Critiques in Medals of any we know. The four already mentioned, at *Florence*, have been approved and registred by *Vaillant* as genuine. The second is reckon'd pretty good, the third incontestable, on account of the remarkable Rust on the Surface, which is almost of a black Colour; of imitating this perfectly, the Falsifiers have not as yet found out the Secret. The other two demonstrate, that Arts were at that time in decay: in them is the Piazza, or open Place seen, and

50. Of AMPHITHEATRES.

a Man in the Attitude of fighting with a wild Beast. In the other a Bull, together with a certain kind of Animal, with a Man on his back, which according to my Draught, is not an Elephant, as some have expressed it. The last is a Medalion, published from the same Original, and celebrated by *Spanheim*. One larger, and better preserved, is said to be in the famous Treasure of Cardinal *Alexander Albani*, who, on account of the noble Ambition he has to encourage every kind of Learning, did most courteously send me a Drawing thereof; but I cannot enrich these Sheets with it, by reason that the Passes being shut up on account of the fear of Contagion, Copies of the said Drawing have more than once miscarried. The Medal of *Alexander Severus* has two Figures represented on it, in the Action of going into the Amphitheatre, one third part of their Body appearing on the Outside of the Entry, seeming to guard it, and this part of it is a little defaced by Age; yet it gives us to understand, that the Figure represents a *Hercules*. And indeed by the *Colossus* on the Medalion, it does in effect appear to be that God with a Club in his hand, tho' not very perfectly represented in the engraving.

Another Medalion of *Gordian* described by *Bonarotti*, shews a Circus in *Heraclaea* of *Pontus*, in which is a Statue of *Hercules*.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 51

les. I have called ours a *Colossus*, for so it appears; but the indifferent Artifice shewn in those two last mentioned Coins, hinders us from making any probable Conjectures about them: yet we cannot pass over in silence, the Edifice which appears upon one Side of the first, and the *Meta* on the other. *Volterrano* took them for two Fountains, but indeed we cannot establish any thing as a Truth in these Matters. The one has been by the Antiquaries commonly referred to, as the *Meta Sudans*, which Place they call that Fragment of a Wall remaining near the Amphitheatre at *Rome*, where they believe there was a Fountain. The Figure seen on the Medal we are now describing, is certainly very like that on the Reverse of a Coin of *Titus* with the eighth Consulate; and yet I cannot conclude this for certain, more especially since *Victor* and *Rufus* place the *Meta Sudans* in a Situation remote from the Amphitheatre. We must add, that in the *Chronica* of *Cassiodorus*, the *Meta Sudans* is reckoned among the principal and most famous Edifices at *Rome*: By this it appears to have been something very considerable; being likewise enumerated among those Fabricks built or restored in the ninth Consulate of *Domitian*: and if erected then, 'tis certain it could not have been represented as a Medal of *Titus*. And if repaired, we ought not, I think, to believe it was built so very soon after.

52 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Bosius and *Arringhi* cite the written Acts of St. *Restitutus*, in which the *Meta Sudans* is mentioned, without telling where it stood. Sometimes they find this Medal with a Figure at the Top of the Pillar instead of a Lilly. But with regard to Pillars placed over it, like a double Portico which are seen on the Reverse of the Medal, nothing has as yet been said on that Head. The vulgar Prejudice which People have, that the Medal has two separate Buildings represented upon it, and which sometimes seem really so, afforded me several Conjectures about them. First, I thought the Structure very much resembled the *Basilica*, like that of *Paulus Æmilius* which we have in the Consular Medals, and makes it evident, that those were publick and sumptuous Portico's, where the Citizens met to confer about Affairs; and yet I had a Suspicion, that rather People of the greatest Note, when the Sun was most scorching, might perhaps have retired sometimes to those Places of the Amphitheatre, and ordered some Couples of *Gladiators* to fight there, which Conjecture seem'd to allude to a Passage in *Dio*, who says, that when the Sun's Heat was most intolerable, instead of the Theatre they made use of the *Diribitorium*. This was an ample and covered Place which served for the Rendezvous of the Soldiers. * *Var-*

* *Lib. 59.* * *P. R. Tib. 3. c. 2.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 53

ro says, the Edifice of the *Villa Publica* served for the same use. But this *Villa Publica* is represented on the Coins of the *Didian* Family, and is exactly like the Edifice we find near the Amphitheatre. Then I thought, that if this covered Place served for a Retreat to those who had a mind to rest themselves, after having stood so long in the Amphitheatre, and then to return soon to their Places; so did I imagine that it might also then have served for People to refresh themselves a little, since it was esteem'd indecent even to be seen to drink at those publick Games: and this I learn from a Passage in *Quintilian*, where speaking of the *Roman* Jest, he mentions a smart Reproof which *Augustus* sent to one whom he perceived drinking in the Amphitheatre, giving him to understand, that when he had a mind to dine, he would chuse to go home to his own House; and *Lampridius* relates it as a piece of great Imprudence in *Commodus*, that he drank publickly in the Theatres and Amphitheatres. I likewise imagined, that I might conceive the Fabrick we are mentioning to have been one of those Buildings placed on the publick Street near the *Colosseum*, for the Use of the Spectators, as *Martial* says. Or that I might consider it as an *Apodyterium* or *Spoliarium*, not in the Sense of Mortality, but where the Actors put off

¹ Lib. 6. ² Mar. Spic. Ep. 2.

54 Of AMPHITHEATRES:

their usual Habits, and the Gladiators dressed themselves, and were fitted out for the Solemnity of the Day, and where the Pomp of their entering the Amphitheatre was ordered. A Stone found last Year near the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, and exhibited in the new Volume already mentioned, has raised in me this doubt, because mention is made therein of an *Apodyterium* in that Situation.

But finally rejecting all those Divisions, I think 'tis more probable, that those Pillars do not shew it to have been a different Edifice, but a kind of *Vestibul*, by the *Greeks* called *Propylea* or *περὺλαια*, and erected before the other Building which was most frequented. In the most famous antient Structures, a kind of outer Building was very much in use, as an Ornament and Defence to the principal Entry.

In some Medals this Building does in effect appear join'd to the Amphitheatre it self, nay the two last Coins shew the same Situation covered, but with a very different Appearance. Hence 'tis probable, that in latter Times, the first having fallen down, the *Propylea* had been rebuilt in another Form. I was confirm'd in this Opinion, in digging up the Ground before the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, correspondent with the same Situation on the Medal, and there we found large Pieces of *African* Marble Pillars,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 55

lars, which never had been placed elsewhere, nor otherwise made use of in the *Arena*. To this we may add, that at *Capua*, in the same Situation before the Amphitheatre there, Pillars were also found. I once saw the second Medal, which had two Figures placed upon the Top of the *Antiporta* or Lodge; but as they had been touched with the Graver, I did not regard them. Now since we have in this Chapter said so much on Medals, it will not be disagreeable, to the Lovers of such Curiosities, to see a Medal in every respect singular, nay even an Unic for what is yet known. On this the Front of a Building is represented, with Pillars likewise placed one above another, with isolated Spaces between them.



56 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Vaillant imagined the Figure here to be a Portico, having among his *Greek* Coins exhibited a Draught of it from the same Original; but in this he was mistaken, for besides the different Idea it has of the Face, and other Imperfections in the Drawing, it rather shews it to be a little Frame of Timber join'd together. *Messalina*, whom in this place we stile the *New Juno*, can be nowhere seen so lively in Effigy as here; and the fine Taste is the more observable, as being on a *Greek* Medal. It was struck in *Nicea*, and bears the Name of the Proconsul *Gellius Rufus*; it is preserved in the Treasure of the *Pisani*, now *Corraro*, but the Public ought to acknowledge this curious Piece, as proceeding from the Bounty of that magnanimous and great Senator Signor *Almoro*, to whom Learning [on account of his Sumptuous Library, and for the many good Qualities to which he is in many respects entitled] owes a great deal.

C H A P. VI.

In what manner it may be said, that in Rome there was but one Amphitheatre, and how long the Use of it lasted.

FROM what has been already said, one very important Truth may be gathered, namely, That there was no other Amphitheatre at *Rome*, but that of *Titus*; by which I mean, a perfect one made use of for their solemn Games. For there is no Memory of any other to be found on Medals, nor do the *Vestigia* of any other appear in the Plan we have of old *Rome*: As it is figured out on a Marble Pavement of a Temple, the greatest part of which is preserved in the Palace *Farnese*, and published by *Bellori*. There, indeed, are three Theatres to be seen. *Philander* on *Vitruvius* supposes, that there was too great an Abundance of Amphitheatres in *Rome*, and no less than seven stone Theatres, which he enumerates one by one; tho' in reality of fixed Theatres there were only three. He ranges them in the following Order: First, that of *Cassius*, mentioned by *Pater-*

¹ *Roma*, 1673. fol.
Amphitheatris accipienda.

² *Ad lib. 5. c. 5. sed puto pro
culus,*

58 Of AMPHITHEATRES,

culus, which is much anterior to the Amphitheatres, or indeed to Theatres of Stone either; nor was that Fabric ever finish'd. He places likewise that of *Caligula*, which was an unfinish'd Amphitheatre too, and of wood, as was that of *Nero*. The other of *Cornelius Balbus* was a Theatre. That of *Claudius*, mentioned by *Suetonius*, was neither a Theatre nor Amphitheatre. The Theatre of *Esquilinus*, *Philander* and others, say, is spoke of by *Martial*; but he only mention'd a Water-Theatre, in the Street called the *Suburra*, which Father *Donati*, with very good Reason, doubts if it was any thing else but a Fountain in form of a Theatre. Finally, *Philander* reckons that built by *Trajan*, in the *Campus Martius*, to have been an Amphitheatre, but very soon destroy'd by his Successor *Hadrian*, of which *Spartianus* makes mention. A late ⁴ Collector of Antiquities, has likewise reckoned that of *Trajan* to have been one of the Amphitheatres of *Rome*: I own he might with some shadow of reason be of that opinion, since *Pausanias* calls it, *A great Theatre, round in every Part*. And yet because it was a Structure not of a very common sort, is there any reason why it should be called a Theatre? In those times they had not yet

³ *Roma vet. lib. 3. c. 10.*

⁴ *Montfaucon c. 3. p. 258.*

⁵ *Lib. 5. Θεάτρον Μέγα κυκλοτερές πανταχόθεν.*

begun

Of AMPHITHEATRES 59

begun to confound the Names of those Buildings one with the other; but why should it be called a Theatre, not only by *Pausanias*, but *Spartianus* also, who in the same Life, when it occurs, calls the Amphitheatre by its own proper Name? But we shall, in another place, give a more certain proof of this, and shew what kind of a Theatre that of *Trajan* was. Our present design is not to treat of all those which really were never Amphitheatres; but of that of *Statilius Taurus* and the *Castrensis* one, as we hear they are mentioned by *Victor* and *Rufus* in the Description they have left us of the fourteen Regions of *Rome*, wherein mention is made of three Amphitheatres.

With regard to that of *Taurus*, we have already shewn how very inconsiderable it was, even when first built, and how afterwards it was burnt down in *Nero's* Time, the Ruins and Name thereof being subsisting, were the Cause why *Victor* has mentioned them: For we cannot believe, that the Edifices, and the Things spoke of by him, were all remaining entire and in use in his time. As to the *Castrensis* one, we have reason to believe, that it was still less considerable than the other, seeing no where else mention is made of it. There were Emperors, 'tis true, who to gratify the

⁶ *Dio. lib. 54. de actis tunc scriptis.*

60 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

torian Soldiers, sometimes caus'd Gladiatory Games to be performed in their Quarters, of which *Augustus* gave Example; and there was a small Amphitheatre erected perhaps by *Tiberius*, who in Person attended the *Castrenſian* Games, and where, 'tis⁷ reported, that he ſhot a wild Boar with an Arrow; yet as he was no Admirer of publick Shows, 'tis more credible that this was the Work of * *Claudius*, who likewise exhibited Gladiatory Combats in the Prætorian Quarters every Year. But as the Structure was of ſmall Importance, it deſerv'd not to be mention'd by Writers.

That Ruin of Brick, and not of Stone, which appears within the Walls of *Rome*, near the Monastery of *Santa Croce* in *Geruſalemme*, is to this day believed to be the Remains of that Amphitheatre; the Knowledge of which Particular we owe entirely to *Panvinus*, who has ſhewn it in his Map of *Rome*; and in his Book of *Circenſian* Games thereby corrected the Errors of ſeveral other Authors. And indeed, from what remains thereof, we may ſtill conjecture that the interior part was of Wood: and as it has, ever ſince *Aurelian's* time, been built up within the Walls of *Rome*, and made uſe of there as a Bulwark; we may thereby know how long it is ſince the uſe of it has been

⁷ *Sn. Ti. 42. v. Suet. c. 34 & 47. Anniverſarium in Caſtris, &c.*

⁸ *In Claud. c. 21.*

laid

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 61

laid aside. It is not so easy to learn where that of *Taurus* was, since no known Remains thereof exist at present, nor do ancient Writers afford us any great Light therein. *Panvinus* reckons the Walls of the Garden of *Spada*, in the Mount *Palatine*, to be Part thereof, but they rather seem to be the Remains of a Theatre than of an Amphitheatre. For my part, be that as it will, I am apt to believe that *Taurus's* Fabrick was of no very long Duration; and in this Opinion I am the rather confirm'd from an Epistle of *Cassiodorus*, which mentions that Building to have been thrown down in *Theodorick's* time, and the Place where it stood converted to a private Use.

For we know that that King ordered the 'Tower, *Circus*, and Place where it stood, to be restored to two noble Minors, as having been their Father's Property, and unjustly taken from them. By this Passage I understand the whole as speaking of the Amphitheatre after it was ruined; for which reason, the Place where it had stood was then become private. The like I do of the Tower which had been erected in a Situation where some *Circus* had formerly been built, and where the Ruins only remained. The Author of the *Diarium Italicum* understood the Meaning of these Words as if it had been a distinct Place given to the forementioned

' *Turris, Circus, atque locum Amphitheatrali.*

62 Of AMPHITHEATRES

Senatorian Family, for seeing the Games
 the Amphitheatre, and a Tower in the *Circus*
 assign'd over to them, for beholding th
 Games from it, which, he says, was a gre
 Honour done them. But among so great
 number of *Latin* and *Greek* Authors wh
 speak of the *Circus*, none have made a
 mention of Towers therein; and if there ha
 been any, 'tis more likely it would ha
 been allotted to the common People, to vie
 the Games from it; since 'tis certain, th
 the Places appointed for the Senators were
 the lowest Rank of all, and nearest the Fic
 of Combat. The Boxes [as one may sa
 of the *Circus*, were, I own, call'd *Specta*
cula & Fori, but never *Turres*. The S
 of the Consuls, and those of the first Ra
 of Magistrates, are called by ¹⁰ *Livy*, *For*
Publicos; and indeed the Emperor *Claudi*
 assign'd over the Privilege of sitting in t
Circus to the Senators in common, and n
 to certain Families; and this Order, as ¹¹ *T*
 tells us, wa observ'd in After-times, so th
 no particular Person could, generally spea
 ing, usurp a peculiar Place to himself in t
 Amphitheatre, because the *Podium*
 Boxes, built all round the Fabric, were a
 propriated for the Senatorian Order alon
 The *Equites* had their particular Places al
 tho' the Seats were taken up by the fi

¹⁰ L. 45. *Init.*

¹¹ Lib. 60.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 63

Comers, provided they were of that Order: Hence it was that the *Roman* Knight already mentioned, whom *Augustus* gave to understand, that when he had a mind to dine, he would go home to his own House, sent that Emperor this Answer; says ¹² he, *So you may, since you need not fear losing your Seat.* By which it appears, that when they left their Seats, others might take possession of them. Promiscuous sitting was afterwards in use on the Paschal Days, because publick Shows were not exhibited then; for on all Festivals and solemn Days they were expressly prohibited by ¹³ *Valentinian*. The Context does likewise shew, that they disputed about the *Utility* and the *Places* possessed by their Fathers, according to the *Jus Commune*, not *de Honorificentia*: So that I think with much Probability, we may conjecture that here it is spoken of the Situation of *Taurus's* Amphitheatre, demolished at that time, and of a Tower which took its Name from a *Circus* which formerly had stood in that Place; and so we read in an ancient ¹⁴ *Chronica* of the Bishops of *Perigord*, cited by *du Cange*, how a certain Person in the Place of the Arena built a Tower.

The common Language of both Christian and Pagan Writers makes it evident, that one only Amphitheatre was in use at *Rome*,

¹² *Quintil. l. 6 c. 3.*

¹³ *Cod. Th. l. 15. c. 5.*

¹⁴ *V. Arena supra locum Arenarum Turrim edificavit.*

and

64 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

and had that Denomination given it, none being distinguished by any particular Epithet, and when they commonly express, that *the Amphitheatre was repaired, he was led into the Amphitheatre, the Games were exhibited in the Amphitheatre, &c.* without meaning any other; 'tis certain that they understood thereby the Amphitheatre of *Titus*: which plainly shews, that there was that one only; since they did not call *Pompey's Theatre, the Theatre*, by way of Pre-eminence, notwithstanding it was more sumptuous than the rest. *Ammianus*, speaking of the Emperor *Constans's* Entry into *Rome*, mentions the most famous Edifices remaining at that time, among others, ¹¹ *the Amphitheatre*, without adding any thing else, and the Theatre of *Pompey*, in order to distinguish it from the others. In the Fragments of *Dio*, published by the great *Fulvius Orsini*, together with his *Legationes*, now collected into a Body of History of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, we read of several Prodigies [for such they believe them] one of which happened in the Beginning of *Macrinus's* Reign. Among the others, of Thunder which fell on the Top of the Amphitheatre, and where such a stubborn Conflagration ensued, that neither by the Water pour'd thereon like Rivers, nor the vast Rain which fell at that Time, could it be extin-

¹¹ L. 16. c. 20.

guished,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 65

guished, ¹⁶ *the Water and the Rain drying up so fast, by the Violence of the Flames from Heaven, that the Amphitheatre it self was damaged all round, insomuch that for many Tears, publick Shews and Gladiatory Combats were performed in the Circus.*

This Passage alone confirms all I aim at, because it shews, that this must have been the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, there being no other in which they could exhibit the Games in the mean time, since they were obliged to bring the Gladiators into the *Circus*.

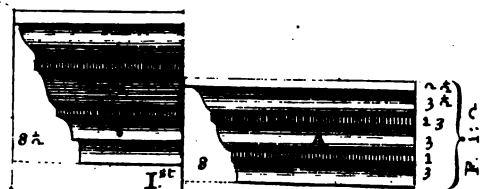
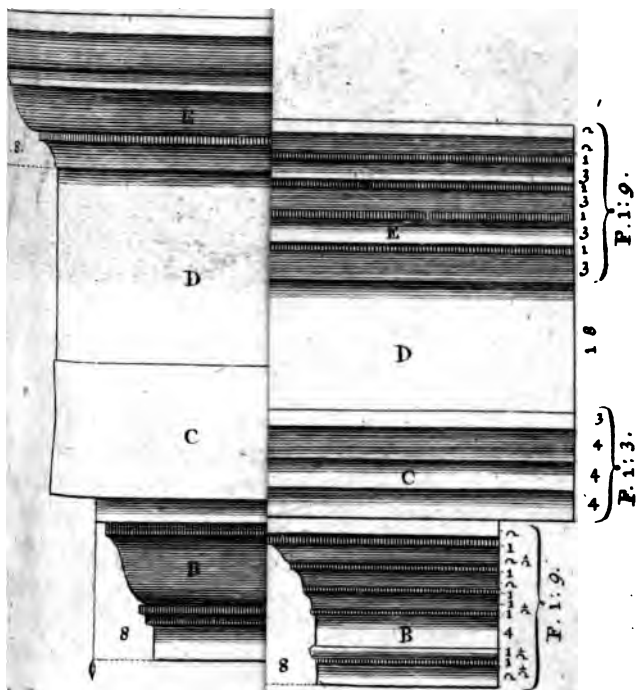
We may likewise observe, from the Words just now cited, and by the whole Passage, that notwithstanding that great Conflagration, the Amphitheatre was however not consumed, like that of *Taurus*, mentioned by the same *Dio*, as it would seem to read in the *Latin* Version, which very injudiciously renders it *desflavit*; but as it may be elsewhere observed, by the Fire that was kindled from above, the inner Side, and the Things appertaining thereto, were only consumed, tho' there is no doubt but other Parts of the Building suffered also.

There is one thing which I think proper to add, for corroborating what I have already said, and what I am elsewhere to prove, from the Substance of this Passage, and it is this; that by mending the Text, and

¹⁶ ἐν μίσει καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιθάρτο, εἴθεν ἢ θεὰ τῆς μογομαχίας ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐτη ἐτελείετο.

66 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

changing only four Letters, I read the Word *ὑπερβαπτο*, *Orsinus* and *Leunclavius* in his fine Edition of *Dio*, write *ὑπερβητο*, but without any meaning at all; hence it is, that the Version in the second, neither agrees with it self, nor reads well; *Aliquid tamen ex ea parte mansit integrum, unde Spectacula Gladiatorum multis in Stadis deinceps annis edita fuerunt*; not *Aliquid*, I say, but the Building it self, viz. the Amphitheatre; not *ex ea parte*, but *in parte*; not *tamen*, which is not to be found there, and confounds the Sense; above all, it must not be read *mansit Integrum*, because it would not be well deduced from thence, that therefore they could not exhibit the Shews any more there; but on the contrary, that it was spoiled, which might well follow, that therefore they were obliged for many Years to make use of the *Circus*. The worthy Ecclesiastic *Nicolo Falcone*, who lately has done honour to *Rome*, by having brought to light, translated and illustrated, many Parts of *Dio*, which had never been seen before; I say, of *Dio*, that great Historian, every Paragraph of whom, with regard to the *Roman* History, is a Treasure. This Gentleman, *Falcone*, perhaps knowing that in this Place *ὑπερβητο*, *superfuit*, cannot run well, has wrote it *ὑπερβητο*, but that would methinks agree rather worse with the Author's meaning, signifying, *they ad-*



A. Half of the I.
B. Capital of the
C. Architrave.

III^d Story



Of AMPHITHEATRES. 67

ded; whereas the Senle here requires to be read, *they destroyed*, or demolished.

How long the Use of Amphitheatres remained at *Rome*, cannot be easily determined; the first Laws enacted against all kind of bloody Games, began in *Constantine's* Time, and in the Year 325, Gladiators were expressly forbid: not only those of the Volunteers of that Profession were included, but the Combats of the prestones also; the last of whom, instead of fighting, were condemned to the Mines, and yet the foresaid Combats continued for a long Time; that Law, perhaps, regarding only those in the East. As to this, we have the Authority of *Sozomen*, which we shall very soon produce.

In the same Age, *Constantine* published another Decree against them, as did likewise *Honorius*, tho' under the Reign of the latter they still continued at *Rome*. For which Reason ¹⁸ *Prudentius* in the Beginning of the fifth Age, warmly exhorted that Emperor to extirpate them, which he afterwards did. The first Step he took to this, was to banish those fighting People out of the Country; and this chiefly for an Accident which happened, and is related by *Theodoret* in his Ecclesiastical History. A certain Person, called *Telemachus*, by Profession a Monk, who came from the East, happened on some solemn Day to go into the Amphi-

¹⁸ *Prud. de Virg.*

68 OF AMPHITHEATRES.

theatre, where he began to endeavour all he could to hinder the Combatants from fighting: this unexpected Incident so enraged the Spectators, that without further ado, rushing on him, they tore him to pieces; for which, says our Author, and ¹⁹ *Sozomen* also relates the same, the *Romans* were for the first time forbid such Games. 'Tis true, notwithstanding this, they did not want Amphitheatrical Games among them, and fierce ones too; but such were only performed by wild Beasts.

Cicero in several places distinguishes the Gladiators from the *Bestiarii*, called Hunters, or *Venatores Arenarii*. As to this, see *Bullinger*, who has treated largely on this Head. ²⁰ *Symmachus* says, that any Feast, tho' ever so sumptuous, was not at all relished, if the bravest of these *Bestiarii* did not fight. The various and surprising Ways by which they engaged with the wild Beasts, the Dexterity, the Address, and the Instruments they made use of on that Occasion, may particularly be gathered from some Passages in *Tertullian*, *Vopiscus* and *Prudentius*; but above all, from that Epistle of ²¹ *Cassiodorus* who describes them accurately, and which may be compared with the Figures represented in the two * *Dittici*, published by P

¹⁹ Soz. l. 5. c. 8. πρὸς δὲ Ρωμαίους τὸ τὴν ἀντιπάλῳ ἢ τῷ μονομαχῶν ἐλῦθαι θέα. de ven. ²⁰ Circ. l. 5. Ep. 59. ²¹ Ibid. 5. 42.

* Whether the Author means Dypics, is a Question, since he afterwards mentions Figures represented in ~~some~~ perhaps the Word is deriv'd from διακιν.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 69

Viltemius, where some of these Entertainments are seen expressed.

In the time of *Symmachus*, there was a Tax laid on the Animals allotted for the Games, namely, a fortieth Part; the which appears in that place, where he complains, " that they made those, possessed of Dignities, pay that Tax also, since it ought only to fall, he says, on the trading People. If we believe *Theophanes*, about the End of the fifth Age, the Emperor *Anastasius* prohibited the fighting with wild Beasts also; but the two forementioned *Dittici* shew us bloody Battels of wild Beasts at *Constantinople*, in the time of the same *Anastasius*, who, together with *Agapitus*, was Oriental Consul, namely in the Year 517. At *Rome* in 519, we find there were the same kind of Shews: *Entaricus Cillica* having on occasion of being made Consul, exhibited them in the Amphitheatre in a solemn Manner, causing a Number of wild Beasts from *Africa* to be brought thither on purpose, of which *Senatorius* in his *Chronica* makes mention, informing, that in his time they began to wear out of use, yet they continued in the 523d Year, *Annicus Maximus* having exhibited them in his Consulate. The same " *Cassiodorus* describing them, uses this Expression, *That People went with Pleasure to see what Human*

" 4. 5. Ep. 59. " Var. l. 5. 42.

70 OF AMPHITHEATRES.

Nature ought to have looked upon with Horror.

We must not pass over in silence that other use made of the Amphitheatre; namely, for punishing Criminals: of this we have many Testimonies in Writers, and that both the Theatre and *Circus* were also used for the same Purpose. ²⁴ *Suetonius* speaks of a certain Criminal, who was whipp'd in all the Theatres; and *Philo* mentions, that another was burn'd alive in the *Hippodromus*. *Suidas* speaks of a third, who underwent the same Punishment. Nay, *Lactantius* exclaims bitterly against the People's taking pleasure in such kind of Executions; a Custom which very often made the Amphitheatres consecrated with the Blood of Martyrs, who were reckoned Malefactors by the *Pagans*; for at the Time of any general Calamity, the People used to cry out, ²⁵ *Let the Christians be thrown to the Lions*; as if from that Sect all their Evils proceeded. Those who were exposed, they sometimes tied fast, in order to be devour'd all at once: at others, allowed 'em to struggle and fight with them, in order to prolong the horrid Entertainment. The Custom also of making Prisoners of War fight one with another like Gladiators [of which *Hannibal* shew'd an Example in the *Roman* Prisoners] lasted at least to the End of the

²⁴ *Aug. c. 45.*

²⁵ *Tert. Ap. cap. 40.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 71

fourth Age. *Symmachus*, speaking of the *Saxons* and *Sarmatæ*, says, they presented themselves like Gladiators. However, in the sixth Century the Amphitheatrical Games were quite left off. *Justinian*, as we learn from *Procopius*, banished them all out of *Constantinople*, and the other Cities of the East. Nor indeed after that Century do we find any more mention made of them even in *Italy*; at which Time the great Amphitheatre of *Titus* was rendered useless; quite abandoned, and liable to the Injuries of Men and Weather. It was indeed unlucky for that Fabrick, that by the Decrease of the Inhabitants, the Part of the City contiguous to it, became desolate and uninhabited, and for many Ages reckoned like the Country. But this much is sufficient with regard to the Amphitheatre in *Rome*; we shall now proceed to the others out of that City.



72 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

C H A P. VII.

That it was wrong to think Amphitheatres were built in every City of the Roman Empire; the first Remark that is made here, is to consider how it was in Greece.

THE Maxim of the *Romans* being to people the World with Colonies of their own Citizens, the Privilege of being a *Roman* Citizen produced this Effect on the other People; namely, To transform those who enjoyed it likewise into *Romans* also, whereby the Diversions of that Nation became likewise Universal.

In one of *Asinius Pollio's* Epistles, we learn, that even in *Tully's* time Gladiators and Wild Beasts were in use in *Spain*. In the Reign of *Nero*, such Shews were given by the *Præsides*, or Governors of Provinces; *Tacitus* tells us, that he prohibited that Custom. Other Cities and People were likewise exceedingly anxious to have Edifices among them, wherein their famous Games might be seen with advantage: And indeed in several places there was an Emulation for having an Amphitheatre; nay, if

¹ *Fam.* l. 10.

² *Ann.* l. 13.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 73

we were to relate the Vulgar Opinion, and what we find written in perhaps a thousand Books; that Fabrick was the most frequented of any in all the Parts of the *Roman* Empire; insomuch that every City had one to adorn it. Nay, it has been reckoned a piece of Unkindness in the Writers of particular Histories, if they have not made a Present of an Amphitheatre to their native Country, especially since they could give it with so small an Expence. And this the rather, since all those learned Men have ³ *Lipsius* for their Leader, who affirms, that *they were commonly to be seen in all the Provinces*, where likewise were several Theatres, *Stadia*, and *Circus's*; and that it was a rare thing, if in any *Colony* or *Municipium* such Fabricks were not to be found. This Chimæra in our time has daily gained ground, insomuch, that we read in the late Collection of ⁴ *Antiquities* delineated, that not only *every City had its Amphitheatre*, but that whereas ⁵ *Rome*, the Metropolis of the World, and the native Country of such Wonders, had properly speaking, but one Amphitheatre; yet in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Autun* in *Burgundy*, like Plants which bud forth, there might have been many.

³ Cap. 1. *Crebra admodum in Provinciis.* ⁴ *Montf. l. 3. p. 259.* ⁵ *P. 261. In Agro Augusto-Dunensi plurimæ Amphitheatra solo pene Equata videntur.*

But

74 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

But as I am my self of a quite contrary Opinion, I do positively assert, that no Edifice whatsoever, was so uncommon and rare as this; nay, that very few Cities had a fixed Amphitheatre in them, the Truth of which I shall be at no small pains to evince: First, As being very necessary in treating on the Subject of Amphitheatres in general; and next, That I may be able thereby to clear up the many Mistakes of those, who in treating on other Things, are misled by this common and false Supposition.

The first Proof for the Truth of my Assertion, may appear plain to the Eyes of all those who have rightly considered the Remains of the Amphitheatres of *Rome* and *Verona*, and where 'tis easy to be proved, that the one was the most superb Structure of any of which the *Romans* could have an Idea, and of such Architecture and Bulk, that many Cities could not possibly be furnished with the Materials necessary for its Erection; the whole *Roman* Power having never brought it to its Perfection, even in the Time of *Vespasian*: and notwithstanding *Rome*, that little World, had, as *Vitruvius* tells us, seven *Circi*, besides the *Circus Maximus*, yet, as we have already shewn, one only Amphitheatre there, was fit for publick Games. Another Proof we have for the Truth of this Assertion, is by observing in how very few Places there are Remains of Amphitheatres to be seen at
pre-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 75

present. Since 'tis certain, that where a Fabric had been of the same Extent and Dimension with that of *Verona*, 'tis hard to imagine it so intirely ruin'd, as that not so much as the least Remains should now be found thereof; for the interior Parts and Foundation can scarcely be imagined to have been destroyed without Hands, and if demolished by Hands, it could not be done, I think, without the greatest Difficulty : Now since such an Annihilation has not happened at *Verona*, which by reason of its Situation was more than any other City exposed to frequent Incurfions, to War, to Changes and Destruction, much less then could the like Ruin happen in the other City, which had not those Calamities. To this I add, that 'tis beyond my Comprehension, how such an immense Quantity of vast solid square Stones, as that of an Amphitheatre, could so effectually vanish, or why in the other Buildings of such ancient Cities, the Stones are not to be seen in plenty, since no body has surely taken the Pains to grind them to Powder, and that they did not take them out of the old Buildings, and make use of them in the new; for in *Verona* we have certain Evidences, that the Stones of the ruin'd Part of the Amphitheatre, are still in the Walls of the old Castle, in the Basement of the Wall which surrounds the Palace of the *Scaligers*, in the Bridges, and dispersed here and there in other Places.

78 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

other mention made of Amphitheatrical Games, than those we know already.

There was therefore no Motive for building Amphitheatres in *Greece*, since the People there were Strangers to them, nor indeed were such kinds of Shews much esteemed in that Country.

In two Cities only, and on a certain Occasion, they were admitted, as we have already hinted, namely, at *Athens* and *Corinth*. And as to their having been a Marble Amphitheatre at *Athens*, as is mentioned both by ⁸ *Philander* on *Vitruvius*, and *Lipsius* too; this perhaps they give us without any Authority. *Herodes* the *Attic*, 'tis true, in his Attempts for Magnificence, built the *Athenians* two such stately Structures, as had not then their Equal in all the *Roman* Empire, as ⁹ *Philostratus* asserts; and that which he did erect of Marble, was only a *Stadium* for the Games of the *Athletæ*, and one Theatre: And indeed those who have searched diligently among the Ruins of that City, have found no Vestige of an Amphitheatre there; nay, how very false the Opinion is, that they had such Structures, may be gathered from ¹⁰ *Spartianus*, who says, that when *Hadrian* was at *Athens*, and being desirous to celebrate a Combat of wild Beasts, he gave the

⁸ *Phil. ad l. 5. c. 5.* ⁹ *In Vit. Her.* ¹⁰ *Athenis mille terrarum venationem in Stadio exhibuit.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 77

neither the Gladiators, nor the wild Beasts had any part therein, the which may be seen in the *Anthologia*, and in many other Books where mention is made of those Games.

I had the Curiosity to look into a Manuscript of this *Anthologia*, wherein I hoped to find more than what we commonly have in Print: the whole is wrote by *Maximus Planudes*, the last Person who collected Greek Epigrams; the Code it self is preserved in the publick Library of ' St. Mark, and towards the End, contains that Version of St. *John's* Gospel, in Heroic Verse, which begins Α'χρονΘ. ἦν ἀκίχῃτΘ, &c. It was first published by *Aldus*, and esteem'd commonly to be the Work of *Nonnus*, Author of the *Dionisacs*; but the Manuscript it self asserted it to be of *Ammonius*, the Philosopher and Rhetorician, Α'μμονίῳ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ ῥητορῷ μεταβολῇ, &c. At the Bottom thereof we learn, that it was wrote by *Maximus Planudes*, at *Constantinople*, in the Monastery of our Saviour, whom they surname the Incomprehensible, χαρὶ Μαξίμου μοναχῷ τῷ πλανυδῇ ἐν τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὁ τῷ μόνῳ τῷ σωτῆρῷ Χριστῷ τῷ τε ἀκαταλήπτῳ ἐπονομαζομένῳ: Before it, is the *Anthologia* wrote by the same Hand; and yet we have found no other Epigrams but those that are printed, nor had there been any, I am certain we should have found

80 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

less addicted to those Games, were far from having them. But this, some may object against, because of the Remains of two Amphitheatres said to be in *Sicily*, one at *Catanea*, the other at *Syracuse*; allowing this, it is however certain, that *Sicily*, after the Time of the *Roman* Republick, I mean while the *Greek* Emperors were in being, became like *Italy*, both with regard to its Language and Customs. For my part, I shall be so fair as not to conceal one Reason which inclines me to believe, that there were Amphitheatres in the Island of *Candia*; and this I have from a most valuable Manuscript, shewn me by *P. Carlo Lodoli*, a minor Friar, who, for the better succeeding in the important Undertaking he has in hand, is no less furnished with proper Talents, than rare and learned Materials. In this Manuscript, is an Account of a large Theatre in *Candia*, delineated by *Onorio Belli* of *Vicentia*, who went thither in the Year 1583, Physician to the Proveditor-General, and remain'd there in that Character with great Credit. This Work is wrote with Erudition and Judgment; nor have we any thing in Print at all to be compared with it in value. In the first Book, where he treats about Antiquities, he refers to Inscriptions, discovering at the same Time an admirable Skill in Architecture, and in giving Plans of all such ancient Edifices as are not known to
the

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 81

the Publick; some of which were upon a certain Occasion, which then interven'd, destroyed. Of these are seven Theatres, of which he found great Remains among the Ruins of several Cities; he likewise mentions seven Amphitheatres, of which he seem'd to find Vestiges also, especially two, one at *Gortina*, the other at *Gerapitna*. He gives the Form, and represents the Drawing of them, in a way commonly practis'd; namely, as if he had found them entire and perfect. As to this I shall say nothing, only that in a little time we shall shew how very easy it is in describing the Remains of ancient Edifices, to make use of one Word for another; more especially since Theatres, Amphitheatres, *Circus's*, and other publick enclosed Places, are for the most part uniform and like one another: and the rather, since Theatres were made with one entire Circumference, which we shall mention when we come to treat about that of *Pola*. The Amphitheatre of *Gortina* he represents, as is usual, by a Plan entirely like that of the *Colosseum* of *Rome*, and by a double Portico, and in the four Diametrical Ways, tho' all the Arches were, as he says, but Fifty Six. He adds, that the Fabrick was of Brick, without any Ornament of Architecture; which Particular can scarcely be believed of an Amphitheatre, especially in a Country where the publick Edifices were of Stone, and ornamented

G

82 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

named too. He adds, that this Structure was join'd to the *Forum* of the City, whereas the Amphitheatres were always without the Walls. The other, he says, was at *Gerapetra*, called at first *Gerapitna*, as he learned from the Stones with Inscriptions found there, and which confirms the Opinion of those who have believed that *Ptolemy's Gerapetra*, was the same with the *Gerapitna* of *Strabo* and *Pliny*. Our Author affirms, that the Amphitheatre was dug between two little Hills or Rocks; and in order to compleat the Oval, on the Points they had made fix Buttresses of solid Masonry, without Ornament, between which were the Stairs. What may be believed from all this, I know not, nor for what Purpose such a Building was designed; and yet so great a Deference I shall pay to the Judgment of this learned Man, as to grant, that it might not be impossible, but a kind of Amphithéâtre might have been erected even in a *Greek* City, in order to gratify some *Roman* Governour or another, tho' I own it was contrary to the *Grecian* Usage. Nor indeed does it make against my general Assertion, nor the proper and common Custom of the *Grecians*. But *Belli* found greater Remains of magnificent Buildings among the Ruins of this City, than in any other Place; and refers to an antient League or Contract of Amity or Friendship, between this and another City now unknown,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 83

known, and which was found on a Stone; but here is not the Place to mention any thing more concerning this Particular.

I remember also another Inscription, to which the celebrated Father ¹³ *Montfaucon* refers in the *Diarium Italicum*, and which he saw at *Venice*, where is read ENIEPAΠΤΓNH; he translates it in *Sacra Pugna*, for which, he esteems that the said Monument contains in it something very curious, and, by laying a stress upon such an Interpretation for a Truth, he explains the whole falsely: It being evident, that in it there is not any mention made of a *Pugna*, either sacred or profane. The Word is read ENIEPAΠTTNH, by which is understood, that in the City of *Gerapitna*, and by the Senate there, such a Decree was made.

A much greater Number than could be well imagined, of such Remarks, are to be seen in my *Arte Critica Lapidaria*; which I scarcely remember at present, nor do I know what will be its Fortune.

¹³ Pag. 74.

84 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

C H A P. VIII.

Search is made in the other Eastern Parts.

SINCE, generally speaking, *Greece* had no Amphitheatre, no more had *Asia*: As for Aqueducts, Temples, Theatres, and other antique Buildings, several Vestiges and Ruins are to be seen in those Countries, but none of Amphitheatres. The Temple of *Ephesus* and many other Buildings, are often mention'd by Writers; and *Aristides*, in the ¹ Oration directed to the People there, makes mention of the Walls, the Theatre, and the Porticoes of that City, as things which they greatly valued. With regard to the *Stadia* and *Circi* in those Parts, an Account is given of them in a great number of Places, but no where of Amphitheatres.

Any City of *Asia*, which might ever have had such Buildings, would not have neglected to advance it as an Argument of Preference, especially at the Time they were setting forth the Nature of their respective Prerogatives, in the Contest they had one with another for erecting the ² Temple to *Tiberius*; and the rather, since an Amphitheatre would have drawn together a Concourse of People

¹ *Orat.* 31.

² *Tac. Annal. lib. 4.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 85

from other Cities, and there, would have been the Place of exhibiting their most sumptuous public Shews, which they often perform'd in common, and about which they had frequent Disputes. At this, *Aristides*, in the same Oration, hints; and the Author who³ lately wrote on this Subject, has not taken notice of this Particular: who says, that the Title of *Neocore* indicates, that that City had Amphitheatres, wherein Games were exhibited in the name of the whole Province; and so we argue of the Cities which aspired to the Power of governing the others. Among the Buildings ruin'd by the Earthquake in *Nicomedia*, ⁴ *Libanius* mentions the stately Theatre and *Circus*, which, he said, were more solid than the Walls of *Babylon*. ⁵ *Pliny* the Younger, speaks of its *Aqueduct*, and likewise of the Theatre of *Nicea*; but none of them mention any thing about an Amphitheatre: but as to what the Author says about one at *Carthage*, or in *Alexandria*, in *Antioch* or *Constantinople*, I am inclined to believe, that there was no fixed Amphitheatre at neither of those Places. ⁶ *Alipius*, St. *Augustine's* Friend [while he remain'd at *Carthage*, where cruel Diversions were not used, but those which were vain and entirely suited to Pleasure] was debauch'd with

³ *Scien. des Med. c. 5.* ⁴ *Orat. 6.* ⁵ *Lib. 10.* ⁶ *Aug. Conf. L. 6. c. 7.* *Cathaginensium, quibus Nugatoria fervent Spectacula.*

86 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the Delight he had in the *Circensian Games*, and at *Rome* alone ravished with the Gladiatory Combats.

* *Salvianus* does not reprove the *Carthaginian* Christians for using any other Kinds of publick Shews, but only for *their flocking to the Circus's, and being luxuriously fond of the Theatres*; yet in the Acts of *St. Perpetua*, and her Companions, who were exposed to the wild Beasts, some believe at *Tuburbium*, others in *Carthage*, the Name of Amphitheatre was given to the *Circus*. Towards the End of those Acts we find, that the Martyrs were given up a Prey to the Beasts upon a Stage, a thing not usual in Amphitheatres, but in other enclosed Places, since the Piazzas were not so conveniently exposed to the entire View of all the Spectators. *St. Ignatius* was sentenced by *Trajan* to be devoured by Beasts in *Antioch*: But at the same time we find in these Acts, that he was commanded to be carried to *Rome*. In those Places they sometimes were pleased with Gladiatory Sports, for which reason, *Constantine* proclaimed a Law in *Berytus*, abolishing that Custom; and *Libanius* speaks of such Games in *Antioch*: yet because of this we must not infer that there were Amphitheatres there, especially since they likewise celebrated those Shews in the *Stadia*, and within the Palisado's. 'Tis known what a great City *Thes-*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 87

salonica was, and in the Acts of St. *Demetrius*, wrote by *Anastasius* the *Bibliothecarian*, and registrated by ⁷ *Mabillon*, in his *Analecfs*; we learn, that there the Emperor *Maximilian* delighted in Gladiatory Combats, but that they were shewn in the *Stadium* of that City.

Nay, we read in the same Acts, how such Games were performed within a kind of Circle, namely, an Enclosure of Boards. This is sufficient to make us understand how the Want of an Amphitheatre was supply'd in the *East*. Yet that there was no such Structure at *Antioch*, is clear from *Libanius*; who, in relating the remarkable things of his own Country, in several Orations, he names the Theatre and Circus, but never an Amphitheatre; and in his Panegyrick, says, that besides the Great Theatre, there were in the Middle of the City, Theatres of another Form, some for the *Athletæ*, others for the Wild-Beasts: Where he confirms, that they exhibited the Games of the Beasts out of the Theatres, and in different and lesser kinds of Buildings. The Truth of this appears the more evident, where St. *John Chrysostomus* says, that the *Antiochians* had left off all kinds of Shews, wherein o-

⁷ *Illic etenim parabatur per quasdam Tabulas circulus circumscriptus.*

⁸ *Hom. 15. Τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἔσφαξαν καὶ ὁ ἵπποδρομος ἀβάτος γέγονε.*

88 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

therwise they had lost themselves, he expresses it thus; *The Circus is abandoned, and the Orchestre shut up.* So *' Ammianus Marcellinus* says, that *Constantius Gallus* living in that City, and delighting in bloody Games, notwithstanding they had been often forbid, exhibited however six or seven of such Shews, and those either of Gladiators or Boxers, arm'd with a Cestus, and always in the Circus. At *Constantinople*, a City which became a second *Rome*, 'tis highly probable that the Use of the Amphitheatre would never have been left off, had they ever had any. The Founder of this last mention'd City, 'tis true, built a famous Hippodromus or Circus; this *Eusebius*, *Sozomen*, *Zonaras*, and many other mention: Nor would they have been silent about the Amphitheatre, if in like manner such a Building had been erected by him. In a Law of the *Theodosian Code*, and in the little Book of the Divisions or Districts of *Constantinople*, publish'd by *Pancirollus*, mention is made of an Amphitheatre, situated not very far from the *10 Portus Julianus*: But 'tis certain, by that we must understand some Circuit or enclosed Place, called so by the *Latins*, because of the Likeness it had to an Amphitheatre, and which they made use of for shewing the Beasts; since a great pa-

⁹ L. 14. c. 7. *Ludicus cruentus in Circo sex vel septem aliquoties vestitis certaminibus, &c.*

¹⁰ C. Th. l. vet. de calc. cost.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 89

of the Circus was preserv'd, even to the last Times of the *Grecian* Empire, tho' no Remains whatsoever of an Amphitheatre have ever been found there; nor is there any *Grecian* Monument that mentions it; nor one Word about it in all the *Byzantine* Historians, nor in the anonymous Writer who flourish'd in the Time of *Constantinus Dux*, as may be seen in the Treatise of the oriental Empire of *P. Banduri*, who has wrote several Books on the Antiquities of *Constantinople*, and given us a minute Account of the Buildings there. Yet we must not forget, that in the *Chronica* of *Marcellinus* mention is made, that in the first Consulate of *Justinian*, there was a famous Shew exhibited of Wild-Beasts in the Amphitheatre; but he made use of that Word in the same manner as the others had done, nor do I know what credit ought to be given to the Fact itself, because *Procopius*, in his *Secret History*, speaks of the Prohibition of the ancient publick Games made by *Justinian*, and regrets, that "the Theatres, the Circi and the Hunting-Places lay for a long time waste and disused; and supposes the foresaid Prohibition to be the Effect of that Emperor's Avarice.

What we are now come to, is to make a particular Enquiry into this Affair at *Alexandria*, as having been above all other Cities the most addicted to such kinds of Diversions

" Cap. 26. *xvnyvoria.*

and

90 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

and Shews; in this we shall examine what the most famous Writers have mentioned on that head. In the printed Books of *Pliny*, where he treats about the *Egyptian Papyrus*, made use of for writing, we read, that one kind of it was called Amphitheatrical, from the Place where it ¹² was made.

Guilandinus, who wrote a Treatise about Paper, finding in the Context, that the Amphitheatre could not stand well there, was of Opinion, that instead of *Amphitheatrica* it ought to be read *Atribitica*, from the chief City of a Province in *Egypt*. He shews *Pliny*, for the same reason, named two kinds of the Paper of that country, by the Word *Saitica*; and according to another Amendment of the same *Guilandinus*, *Tanitica*, and not *Teniotica*, as it is printed. ¹³ *Joseph Scaliger* laugh'd at that fine Emendation, deriding *Guilandinus*, because he would not allow of an Amphitheatre to have been at *Alexandria*, a City, he said, so full of Pleasures. *Vossius* followed *Scaliger* in this, and *Harduin* them both, as I have already taken notice in my second Book of the *Historia Diplomatica*. But first 'tis to be observ'd, that *Pliny* makes no mention of *Alexandria* in that place, nor gives the least Hint about it, so without any Reason it came into the mind of those worthy

¹² *Lib. 13. c. 12. à conjectura loco.*

¹³ *In Opusc. vult Amphitheatrum non fuisse Alexandria, &c.*

Men,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 91

Men, That the City where the Paper was made, named *Amphitheatrica*, was nothing but *Alexandria*; and that *Guilandinus*, by his Emendation, has done little less than deny'd that there were ever any Amphitheatres in *Alexandria*, which indeed he never thought of. But notwithstanding all this, the Reader may rest satisfy'd, that what *Guilandinus* has said is a Truth, and neither ridiculous nor extravagant, as those Authors [by the common Prejudice they have that Amphitheatres were in every City] believ'd. Besides, when *Pliny* wrote, there were no Examples to be found of Structures like that of *Titus*. Nor is it therefore credible, that a durable Amphitheatre was subsisting in any other Place. That none was anterior to it, appears from *Philo*, * where he says, that the Præfect *Flaccus* caused the *Jews* to be tormented in the Theatre, before the Musick and the Scenic Games began; which, had there been any, would more probably have been in the Amphitheatre, amidst the cruel Shews there. But that there were none at that time, nor afterwards, we are very certain, from what *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates, who, in his elaborate Encomium on that City, mentions the Tower and the Rampart in the Sea, and the Temples there, among which was that of *Serapis*, but no Amphitheatre. Nay, that there was no such

* *Phil. in Flacc.*

92 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Building in *Alexandria*, nor the Custom of such Shews for which Amphitheatres were intended, is undoubtedly made apparent by an Oration of ¹⁴ *Dion Chrysostomus*, by which he endeavoured to alienate the *Alexandrians* from the excessive Passion they had for Shews. There he continually accuses them for the vain Pleasure they took in Theatres, and in the *Stadium*; and for their Delight in Horses, Charioteers, Singers, Fiddlers, Dancers and Wrestlers. But of Amphitheatres, wild Beasts, and Gladiators, he makes not the least mention.

I remember a Stone [referred to by *Ap-pian* in his Collections, and from him by *Gruter* *] which would incline one to think, that there was a School for Gladiators in *Alexandria*; the Inscription is this: *Procurator Ludi Familiae Gladiatorum Caesaris Alexandriae ad Egyptum.*

But with regard to Inscriptions, I own, that tho' they are the most precious and pure Fountain of any, when safely made use of; yet it must be with great Caution, until a general Examination be established for distinguishing the false from the genuine. And indeed, some time or other, with Divine Permission, we intend to shew evidently that the foresaid Stone is false, either in the whole, or in that part. *Marc Anthony*, 'tis true, carried Gladiators into those Countries

¹⁴ *Orat.* 32.

* 376. 3.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 93

by way of Soldiers; in like manner, *Otho* armed 2000 against *Vitellius*: All which I shall confirm, by subjoining here, that the foremention'd Orator, in order to convince the *Alexandrians*, how ridiculous they made themselves, and in what manner they were undone, by running after Shews, and the like; recites 36 Verses, made by I know not what Poet, in derision of them. Which Poem is most remarkable, as being a Piece of *Grecian* Satire, and among the Monuments of that Nation, singular in its kind: a Particular which never as yet has been adverted to. I shall give the Translation as near to the Original as is possible, having only mended it a little here and there, in order to cover some small Imperfections in the Original; the Author of which has undertaken, for the most part, to throw it into Verse, or to imitate the *Homeric* Strain. In *English* Prose it is to this Purpose.

The Charioteers sometimes bowed to the Ground, then erected themselves on high; the Spectators stood not still, but left their Seats, and being yellow with Fear, and anxious for the Palm of Victory, they encouraged each other: Then lifting up their Hands to all the Gods, they prayed, making a Clamour like that of Rooks and Cranes. But after they had drank powerful Wine and Beer, then flew they clattering through the

94 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the Circus, and like a Cloud of Daws, or rather Starlings, chattering from high; so they perceiving the Coursers coming upon them (which thing to Fools brings Death) fell over one another, with a shrieking Noise; but like as the Wind carries Chaff through the Air, and Fire roars through the deep Valleys, so they, like Flames, grew furious. Then might you say that the Sun and Moon were in danger, for Men are like the Leaves of Trees, those nimble Men who are enamoured with Songs and Chariots, the loud noise of both which reached up to Heaven. One there was, who seeing his Neighbour drunk, said, Dog's Eyes and Hind's Heart what do you fear? and why do you look on the Field behind the Chariot? Come rouse your self, make one effort that we may see you flung flat on the Ground. But thus did Hippocoontes reply, Friend, pray sit still and be quiet, take my Advice, since you are a defenceless Minister, and have lazy Horses. In truth, so spoke a white-footed Horse, under the Yoke, and said, don't you see that I am large and fair, yet Death and powerful Destiny hang over me? I wish the great Goddess Juno had furnished every one of you here with Hoofs, so that one sitting on one side, the other on the other, might not prate any more. Thus did he speak, but those of Jupiter, the Son of Saturn, turn'd about and prayed, &c.

Ho-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 95

Horace, Quintilian, and Diomedes after hem, said, the *Lucilian* Satire was entirely *Latin*, and not made by a *Grecian*; yet by these Verses it seems, the Truth of that Assertion may be called in question, and the rather, since it appears not to have been an unusual Composition; for being produced by the Orator, he says, * *Thus has one of those foul-mouth'd Poets wrote*: which makes it evident, that such kind of Poetry was in use; and by calling them foul-mouth'd, denotes the Character of the Satirists. We may add, that the *Sylli* of *Timon*, as *Cassaubon* has well remarked, in his Treatise of Satiric Poetry, appears to have been nothing else. This Knot may, I think, be well loosed, by observing, that the aforesaid Verses is a Chain of *Homeric* Parody, and like those of *Timon*, as *Laertius* fully shews; and which do evince, that he likewise had the same kind of Versification, and that the *Grecians*, being for the most part entirely wedded to the *Homeric* Style, where, in their Compositions they affected a kind of Medley or *Cento*, in that way have been therefore little regarded; and indeed the truth is, they seem by no means equal to the Satires of the *Latins*.

But to return to the Subject in hand: From this Satire likewise appears, that the Games at *Alexandria* consisted in Singing and Cha-

* Τις τῶ σατυρῶν τούτων ποιητῆς.

riots,

96 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

riots, and not in Amphitheatrical Entertainments. *Philo*, who was an *Alexandrian*; relating, that in the Beginning of *Caligula's* Reign, every City feasted, and were employed about Games, calls them *Theatrical* and *Circensian*, but not *Amphitheatrical*. In fine, all the Passages we meet with in the *Greek Fathers*, where they reprove the Oriental People on account of their Shews, speak nothing but either of Theatre or *Circus*, or those Buildings into which Beasts were brought, which they called ¹⁵ Hunting-Places; but never mention Amphitheatres, as may be particularly remarked in many Passages in *Chrysostom*, and in the 27th Homily of *Nazianzenus*, and the first Catechism of *St. Cyril*: likewise in the ¹⁶ Canons of the Synod called *Quinisestus*, the Hunting-Shews were prohibited. *Suidas*, about the word Amphitheatre, cites none but *Agazias*, who mentions one in *Italy*. And in the Word *Cynegium*, he spoke of the Hunting-place at *Constantinople*; nor does he so much as hint that it was an Amphitheatre. So also in the Laws, they used to divide the Shews into *Theatrical* and *Circensian*; and when they happened to mention that of the wild Beasts, they did not term them Amphitheatrical, but ¹⁷ *Theatrical Games*, and *Circensian Contests*, and *Coursing of wild Beasts*, or rather the deplorable Shews of

¹⁵ Τα Κυνηγία. ¹⁶ Can. 52. ¹⁷ C. Ib. de Spect. Lib. 2. Jusf. de Feriis, lib. 10. wild

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 97

wild Beasts, like what was mentioned in that of *Theodasius*, directed to the Præfect of the *Prætorium* of the East: And likewise those of *Leo*, by which all manner of Shews on Sunday were prohibited. *Eusebius*, who in his Ecclesiastical History mentions so many Martyrdoms, particularly those by the wild Beasts, and by way of Shew, which happened in the many great Towns of the Eastern Provinces; in the *Greek* Original of that Author, we have no mention of any Amphitheatre, tho' he speaks of them twice, in another Place, where he treats of the Martyrdom of ^{1^o} *St. Photinus* at *Lyons*. In like manner *Josephus* uses the Word Amphitheatre four times in *Greek*, speaking of those of Wood erected by *Herod* in *Judea*.

C H A P. IX.

That few Amphitheatres of Stone, were either in the West or in Italy itself.

LET us now go to the *West*, the Provinces of which were much more inclin'd to that *Italic* kind of Shews, than they for whose use Amphitheatres were originally design'd. Among the infinite number of Cities, there are but few found which can make it appear on good Grounds, that they

^{1^o} L. 5. c. 1.

98 Of AMPHITHEATRES

had Amphitheatres; and all these are either in *Gaul* or *Spain*. The Acts of *St. Frutuoso* and his Companions, make particular mention of an Amphitheatre in *Tarragona*. Some likewise imagine, that Remains of such Structures have been near *Seville*, and that now others are to be seen in *Italica*, which I shall not pretend to determine. We have already found by an Epistle of *Pollio*, that there were Shews of Gladiators and Wild-Beasts in *Seville*; but the Age anterior to *Cæsar's* Administration sufficiently evinces that they did not then make use of them in the Amphitheatres. That there are the Remains of an Amphitheatre at *Nimes* in *France*, has always been believ'd; nay, *Lipsius* and *Bullinger* speak also, tho' but ambiguously, of another at *Poitou*. But a more accurate Observation thereof is, I think, still necessary.

There are others, not a few, asserted to be remaining elsewhere, and this on account of the Ruins extant; but with what Certainty, I leave to those who, with a skilful Eye, may have examined them upon the spot: since People conclude that Amphitheatres have been in several places, for no other reason but the oval Form, which they think they see in their Ruins. We have formerly hinted, that in the Epistle directed to the Cities of *Lyons* and *Vienne*, and preserved by *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History,

mention

Of AMPHITHEATRES: 99

mention is made of an Amphitheatre at the first of these Cities: Besides, the Writers and Monuments of latter times, I mean posterior to the year One thousand one hundred, cited by *Du Cange* in his *Glossary*, name the *Arenæ* in *Marseilles*, *Bourges*, *Perigord*, in *Rheims*, and in *Paris*: But in the latter Ages, they neither knew what an Amphitheatre was, nor did they use such names in their true and ancient Signification. In *Treves*, a City made a Colony by *Augustus*, and called by *Pomponius Mela*, the most Opulent, where several Emperors resided, we have a strong reason to believe, that they had an Amphitheatre there, since *Aimonius* mentions the *Arenæ* at that place, ¹ saying, that on certain Occasions they made a Defence, *by placing a Garison in the Arenæ there*. Nevertheless, I find in ² *Salvianus*, that those People desired no other Games, but what were Theatrical and Circensian: And I perceive ³ *Eumenius* celebrates the *Circus* of that City, which he calls *a Rival to that of Rome*; as he does likewise the *Basilica & Forum*, Structures which were, says he, *reared up to the Stars*; but in all this mentions not any thing about an Amphitheatre. In like manner *Constans*, while he wintered in *Arles*, celebrated sumptuous

¹ L. 3. c. 2.

² Lib. 6. *Theatra quaritis, circumpostulatis.*

³ In *Paneg. Constant.*

100 Of AMPHITHEATRES

Shews there, but they were all Theatrical and Circensian, as ⁴ *Ammianus Marcellinus* plainly evinces. The Circensian Games lasted even to the time of *Justinian*, as appears from ⁵ *Procopius*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* makes an Encomium on *Narbona*, and extols it greatly for its Edifices, enumerating them one by one; namely, the *Theatre*, *Forum*, the *Gates*, *Porticos*, *Capitols*, *Mint*, *Hot-Baths*, *Arches*, *Granaries* and *Shambles*. Can we think then, that amidst so many he should forget Amphitheatres? But let us proceed to *Italy*: The Amphitheatres of Stone were not so many there as is commonly believ'd. *Vitruvius* gives us to understand, that the Temples of *Hercules* in those Cities which had neither *Gymnasium* nor Amphitheatres, were built near the *Circus*; so that we find the *Circi* were every where, but no Amphitheatres, not so much as of Wood, made at that time: And if we look for an undeniable Proof of this from Ruins, I am of Opinion, that we shall not probably find a certain Evidence of any fix'd Amphitheatre out of *Verona*, except that of *Capua*. As to those of *Sicily* and *Pola*, we shall defer speaking of them at present. The other Remains of Amphitheatres given out to be in *Albano* at the *Garrigliano*, *Pozzuolo*, *Orticoli*, *Spello*, and many other places, are, for the most part, either Pieces of an-

⁴ L. 14. c. 5.

⁵ Bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 43.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 101

cient Brick-Walls, or the Remains of some enclosed Places; whence 'tis visionary or uncertain to assert, that such were the Ruins of Amphitheatres: and the rather, since some of them are in the side of small Rocks, which was an Artifice in making Theatres at a smaller Charge, by working out the Auditory in the Declivity, and placing the Scene in the Plain; not an Amphitheatre, which required the Steps or Seats to be made circularly all around it. The ancient Commentator of *Juvenal*, speaking of the *Arena Albana* [in which that young Man, the Consul's Son, slain afterwards by *Nero*, who like a *Bestiarius*, bravely kill'd the *African* Wild-Beasts] says, it was a *Lusorium* of the Emperor; namely, a private and peculiar Enclosure appropriated for the like Uses, as shall be shewn in its proper place.

Ambrogio Leone, who wrote about the beginning of the sixteenth Age, imagined he saw the Remains of two Amphitheatres at *Nola*; which indeed would, if true, have been no small Wonder: but he adds, that within them they recited Fables. Nay, *Julius Scaliger* was liberal enough to give no less than two Amphitheatres to *Verona* also: But I shall not make further Enquiry about what is asserted in *Italy*, that being too tedious a Task. However I must say,

⁶ *Ad Sat. 4. in Lusorio Caesaris, &c.*

⁷ *De Com. & Fr. cap. 17.*

102 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

that if a narrow View be taken of our own *Venice*, the Territory of which has at all times been not a little distinguish'd, rich, and well peopled; in the Extremity thereof was the great City of *Aquileia*, and yet for all this, we do not find the least remembrance of an Amphitheatre there; nor could I, by diligent search, discover the least Appearance of any.

^s *Jornandes*, who flourish'd about a hundred years after the Incurſion of *Attila*, affirms, that ſcarcely any Remains of *Aquileia* were exiſting in his time; but I am certain in this he exaggerated: but ſuch a Pile as our *Arena* could not be annihilated in ſo ſhort a time. One may reply to this, that the Grandeur of *Aquileia* was chiefly in the latter Ages, and yet ſuch Edifices the Work of former Times. But what ſhall we ſay to *Padua*, which flouriſhed ſo very much in the higher Ages, that few Cities could be compar'd to it for Grandeur, as may be gathered from *Strabo*? And yet I greatly doubt, if it had any fix'd Amphitheatre, ſince no Remains of ſuch a Building have ever been diſcovered there, and *Scardeo* mentions not one word concerning it. 'Tis true, *Pignorius* has treated largely about an Amphitheatre at *Padua*, and given the Plan and four Draughts in Perſpective thereof: But that which appear'd to him to be an

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 103

Amphitheatre, was only an oval Court, placed before a fine Palace, near the Church of the *Augustine* Fryars, with the Remains of a Wall round it; which, because of the great number of Gates, and its Figure, was call'd *Arena*: the Building appearing to have been erected only four or five Ages ago; nor had it ever any Portico join'd to it, nor Stairs or Steps. We may observe in the Acts of the Saints *Fermo* and *Rustico*, publish'd lately by me, by way of Appendix to my History of *Diploma's*, that those two Christian Heroes were, by *Maximine's* Order, given up to *Anolinus*, who, as he was invested with the Authority of supreme Magistrate, and at that time on his Departure from *Milan*, to both the *Venices*, had express Injunctions given him, that they should either renounce their Religion or lose their Lives: *Anolinus* therefore, in order to expose the Saints by way of publick Shew, and thereby to be more able to gratify the People, immediately commanded them to be sent to *Verona*, where, in the Amphitheatre they were tore to pieces. From this it plainly appears, that no such Building was then at *Bergamo* or *Brescia*, through which Cities the Saints were to pass; nor indeed in *Aquila*, one of the largest and most frequented Cities of any in that Province. For had Amphitheatres, I say, been in any of these three Towns, *Anolinus* would surely have order'd

104 Of AMPHITHEATRES

these Saints to have been executed in one of them.

But not to speak any more of our Province, I am of opinion, that 'tis pretty difficult to determine, if any Amphitheatre had been even at *Milan*, notwithstanding it was a City very Illustrious, both for its Bulk and many high Titles. On one hand, we find in the ancient Life of St. *Ambrose*, an Amphitheatre mention'd to have been there; but on the other, *Ausonius* does not say any thing of it in his *Elogium* on that City. And yet that Panegyric is distinguish'd from any of the others, because of the particular mention it makes of the Buildings there, stiling *Milan* the Rival of *Rome*, where its *Circus* and Theatre are spoke of before any other thing: there he names the Temples, Mint, Palaces, *Tribune* or *Pantheons* adorn'd with Statues, and the strong Walls of that City. Can any one then imagine, that if such a Building as an Amphitheatre had ever been there, he would have forgot it? Tho' 'tis not unreasonable to suspect, that the Name *Amphitheatre*, mention'd in the same Life, was given to the *Circus* there also; and this *Socrates*, ⁹ *Sozomen* and others speak of; just as ¹⁰ *Cassiodorus* does of the *Charioters* of *Milan*. Moreover in the aforementioned Acts we find, that while *Maximian* stood in the *Suggestum*, he caused the

⁹ L. 3. c. 26.

¹⁰ L. 7. c. 28. Var. l. 3. c. 29.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 105

foresaid Martyrs to be tormented in that City. Such Punishments were commonly inflicted on Criminals within the Amphitheatre, tho' in those Acts it is express'd, that they were martyr'd in the *Circus*. There are two Copies of Verses [exactly like one another, compos'd in the time of *Pepin*, and probably by the same Author] now publish'd in the Treatise relating to the *Italian Affairs*; in one, the City of *Verona* is describ'd, and not a little extoll'd; in the other, *Milan*. As to the first of these, mention is made in a particular and distinct manner of its Amphitheatre; but why nothing about that of *Milan*? *Pietro Lasena*, in his Learned Treatise upon the *Neapolitan Gymnasium*, reproaches some people for their Ignorance in believing that an Amphitheatre had been at *Naples*; notwithstanding that City, in ancient times, was also very famous.

I have still one Remark to make on this head, and it is this, that the very Stones with Inscriptions have suffered even in ancient times, for the reasons already given. Among the few that have escap'd that Ruin, there are four remaining which refer to the Amphitheatre; but this shall be shewn in its proper place. *Capua* has been no less unfortunate in preserving its Inscriptions; for, as it appears by the Treatise lately publish'd on the Antiquities of that Place, there are but three left which mention its Amphitheatre.

106 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

I would gladly know then, how it happens, that if such Structures had been in every City, in the many Towns now subsisting there are so few Stones with Inscriptions, that mention those Buildings? 'Tis true, I have observ'd two printed Inscriptions, which speak of an Amphitheatre, in *Luco Feronia*, and in *Velletri*; other two, hinted to have been in *Preneste* and *Alissi*. Among other Writers *Lampridius* mentions one in *Lanuvium*; *Xiphiline* also gives a hint of one near *Pozzuolo*: but whether these were entirely of Stone, or partly of Wood, we have no Author positively determines. A fix'd Amphitheatre is seen at *Catanea* in *Sicily*, and we read in ¹¹ *Cassiodorus*, that the Citizens there did both ask and obtain Leave from *Theodoric*, to make use of the Stones of its Ruins for repairing their Walls. ¹² *Agathias* mentions likewise one at *Parma*, which was made use of by *Butilinus*, as a place of Ambuscade for his Soldiers. ¹³ *Procopius* speaks of another at *Spoletto*, where a Captain of *Belisarius* had placed a Garrison; but whether all these places had the Steps and the other Parts of Stone, there is none who can determine. But, in fine, be it as it will, with regard to this or that particular City, in that I shall not be positive, nor raise Disputes about it; tho' it is most certain and self-

¹¹ *Var. lib. 3. c. 49.*

¹² *Ag. Bel. Goth.*

¹³ *Goth. l. 3. c. 23.*

evident

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 107

evident from what is already said, that in the *Provinces*, and in *Italy* itself, Amphitheatres of Stone were neither in every City, nor in so great number as is commonly believed.

C H A P. X.

From whence the Error proceeded, in believing that there were Amphitheatres in every City.

THE Prejudice is so common that Amphitheatres were in every City of the *Roman* Empire, that ¹ *Velferus* had no other ground for his Assertion that one had been at *Augsburg*, nor *Mabillon* better ² Authority that an Amphitheatre had been at *Paris* and *Toulouse*. But I believe it will not be of small Use to the Publick, if we trace this Error from its first Source, and the Motives which had introduced that Opinion.

We may in the first place account for this by considering, that People had never imagin'd that Amphitheatres were made of Wood as well as Stone. 'Tis usual with People, when they assert that fixed *Arenæ* had been in every City, to call to mind immediately the great number of them built by *Herod* in *Judea*, spoke of by many Authors. Jo-

¹ *Rer. Aug. l. 5.*

² *Re. Diplom. l. 4. II. 110. 143.*

108 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Josephus speaks of two, one at *Jerusalem*, the other in *Cesarea*. But why don't they consider, that that King, in order to flatter the *Romans*, by introducing their Customs, gave into this Singularity in the time of *Augustus*? that is, long before there were any Examples of Amphitheatres made of Stone: I mean, before that of *Titus* had been seen; which is sufficient to convince, that without doubt *Herod's* Amphitheatres were of Wood, and therefore 'twas easy for him to build two of that Material. But neither in Authors, nor in Monuments of Antiquity is any more mention made of them. We may say the same of that other, which *Josephus* relates to have been built at *Berytus*, by King *Agrippa*, in the Reign of *Claudius*. But this Historian does not afterwards so much as hint, that there were Amphitheatres either in *Cesarea* or *Berytus*, at the Time when *Titus* celebrated the Birth-days of his Father and Brother, wherein that Emperor exhibited several kinds of Shews; in one of which, between those devoured by the Beasts, and others which perished in the Flames, and by combating, there died, he says, 2500 captive *Jews*. Nor does it signify, that he speaks of those Edifices as great Works, since even an Amphitheatre of Wood was no small Building. That one of Wood erected by *Nero*, is mentioned by *Tacitus* as a sumptuous Structure; but the other at *Fidena*,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 109

Fidena, of Wood also, was capable of containing fifty Thousand People. From the whole we may remark, that *Josephus* had a violent Inclination to magnify the Things of his own Nation. It seems, Example was one of the chief Reasons why the forementioned King *Agrippa* had 700 Couple of Malefactors ready for fighting. But as to the frequent use of Amphitheatres of Wood, 'tis observed in *Tacitus*, that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, being desirous to exhibit Gladiatory Games in *Cremona* and *Bologna*, in order to gratify *Vitellius*, ordered the Soldiers of the 13th Legion to build Amphitheatres there. But can we imagine Structures erected in one single Season of the Year, could be of any other Materials but Wood, and executed by Military Hands? We learn from *Xiphiline*, that in *Caracalla's* Expeditions he was desirous to have Amphitheatres and *Circi* in all those Places where he winter'd. How can we then think that such occasional Works, built sometimes in one Place, sometimes in another, were of Stone? The Legions had their peculiar Builders among them, as Inscriptions inform us, but such were for Wood Work: Smiths they had also, but no Masons; since the Employment of the latter was of no use in military Machinery. The Municipal *Arena* mentioned by *Juvenal*, in which those People, who afterwards became wealthy, had wrought; these
Structures,

110 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Structures, I say, ought not to be understood Theatres, as is falsely believed by some modern Commentators, and contrary to the express Declaration of the ancient Scholiast himself, nor indeed ought it to be understood of Amphitheatres of Marble.

That Gladiatory Games ought not to be reckoned as proceeding from the use of any kind of Amphitheatres, we have already shewn, tho' it might well have happened, that some of the ordinary Cities, might on certain Occasions have made use of them and, Huntings too: For those Shews were as much practised in the *Circi* as in the Amphitheatres. Nay, we find the Emperor *Probus* ordered the Hunting which he gave to be shewn in the *Circus*, called by *Vopiscus*, a most ample Building. They likewise exhibited them in the *Stadium*, which place was allotted to the *Athletæ* for Wrestling and Boxing, being easily prepared, and much used in the *East*; so that every City of Note had its particular *Stadium*. They exhibited them likewise within Palisadoes of Wood, of which Material the Steps were also made, as we find mentioned in the Acts of St. *Demetrius*. Another Motive for inducing People to believe that, at least, in great Cities they had Amphitheatres, was from seeing the like kinds of Buildings in the lesser Towns. ³ *Lipsius* said he knew for

³ *Amphit. Ext. R. c. 5. Scio majora multo, &c.*

certain,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. III

certain, that the most noble Towns in *Gaul* had Amphitheatres; and this, for no other reason, but because there was one at *Nimes*: Nay, he adds, that he was persuaded other Cities had Amphitheatres still more magnificent than the Town just now mentioned, in proportion as they were larger than it. But in this I think there are more than one Absurdity; since, in the first place, the erecting a fixed Amphitheatre did not depend solely on the Richness and Largeness of a City, but on having Quarries of Marble and Stone of their own, near at hand; which, I think, contributed not a little to the having such Fabricks erected; as, no doubt, did likewise the exalted and noble Genius of the Inhabitants, where the Knowledge of Architecture, and a great Passion for Shews prevailed. But in the Sequel, when we treat thereon, we shall plainly shew what we understand by the greater and lesser Cities; since we must not have any regard to the present Times, or latter Centuries, but to the higher Ages of the *Roman* Empire, for in them alone the erecting of Amphitheatres was undertaken. In more modern Histories it appears, that almost all the Cities which are now the greatest and most famous, have been chiefly augmented in the third Century; I mean, after the new System of Religion was introduced in *Constantine's* time: so that 'tis no wonder if Amphitheatres then were not in use.

What

112 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

What seems likewise to have occasioned the foresaid erroneous Belief, may be deduced from the Ambiguity of the Names of those Structures. *Salmasius*, *Pagi*, *Baluzio* and others have understood the Word *Lusorium* to be the same with that of Amphitheatre: *Lipsius* took it for *Ludus*, or a School for Gladiators. But *Lampridius* (who, if I mistake not, was the first that made use of that Word) says, that *Helioabalus* made a *Triclinium* or Dining-Room on the Top of the *Lusorium*, and that while he dined he caused the Huntings of Wild-Beasts and the Combats of Criminals to be perform'd there for his own Entertainment. All which shews, that the Building was rather a kind of Court-Yard, or inclosed Place appropriated for the Games in the Palace. Nor do I think ⁴ *Lipsius's* Amendment right, when in explaining the word *Noxios*, he makes it Gladiators. And, indeed, what I have asserted from the ⁶ Book of *the Deaths of the Persecutors*, is confirmed thereby; where it is said, that *Maximilian* had a *Lusorium*, and a great number of very fierce Beasts, which, when he had a mind, he caused to be brought into it, and where he set them on to devour People; his Custom having been, never to sup without Bloodshed. Sometimes also the

⁴ *Stravit sibi triclinium in summo Lusorio, & dum pranderet Noxios & Venationes sibi exhibuit.*

⁵ *Sat. Ser. l. 1. c. 14.*

⁶ *Cap. 21.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 113

words *Arena* and *Cavea* have made People mistake, because they don't always allude to the Amphitheatre; of old it was call'd *Arena*, for having commonly Sand strew'd on the Ground within it, to hinder the Feet of the Combatants from sliding, and likewise that their Blood might be thereby absorbed. But as the like was done in the *Circus*, the same Name was given to it also, and every other Place appointed for publick Games. That the *Forum* was also covered with Sand, whenever the Gladiators were to fight, we learn from a Verse of *Propertius*. ⁷ *Lipsius* deny'd that the Name *Arena* was ever given to the *Circus*: But when *Pliny* spoke of the *Arena* of *Pompey the Great*, he certainly did not mean that of the Amphitheatres, which then were not in use. So that where he speaks of *Cæsar's* having surrounded the *Arena* with a Ditch, by the word *Cavea* the Theatre was also understood, on account of the similitude of the *Auditorium*, like a Concavity in all those Edifices. ⁸ *Cicero* however says, that in the *Cavea*, both singing and playing on Instruments were perform'd, the whole having echoed with the Applause of a *Drama* made by *Pacuvius*. ⁹ *Tertullian* shews the double meaning of

⁷ *Amph. cap. 3. l. 8. c. 22. & 7.*

⁸ *De Leg. de Amic.*

⁹ *De Spect. cap. ult. Utraque Cavea non Caula.*

114 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the word *Cavea*, expressing it thus: That the Enjoyment of the Blessed shall be much more agreeable than the *Circus* and *Stadium*, and of both the *Caveas*, [as it ought to be read] namely, of the *Theatre* and *Amphitheatre*.¹⁰ *Symmachus* mentions the *Scenic Pleasures* of the *Cavea Pompeiana*.

But above all, we ought to read the Works of modern Authors, and the Antiquities they give us, with great Caution; because, as to the *Roman* Buildings, in proportion as they lost the use of them, so have they confounded their Names one with another; insomuch that the words *Amphitheatre*, *Theatre*, *Circus*, *Stadium* and *Arena*, are often used promiscuously, and not a little abused; consequently not to be understood, according to their proper and ancient Signification. The *Miscellan* History calls that of *Titus* a Theatre: *Zonara* and *Manasse*, in their poetical Verses, term the *Circus* a Theatre:¹¹ *Cassiodorus* confounds the word *Histriones* or Stage-Players, with that of *Auriga* or Charioteers: The M. S. of the Acts quoted by *Arringhi*, speaks of some Martyrs shut up in an Amphitheatre without the Walls of a certain City; but as there was no such Building on the outside of *Rome*, so 'tis evident that, if he means it there, it must be

¹⁰ *Lib.* 10. c. 25.

¹¹ *Var.* l. 2. c. 9. l. 3. c. 51. l. 4. c. 35.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. II5

understood the *Circus*; since, as ¹² *Panvinus* relates; there were not a few *Circi* near *Rome*. The word *Arena* was likewise sometimes given to every kind of Structure resembling an Amphitheatre, of which we have shewn an Example, particularly of that in *Padua*. *Agnello* speaks of an Amphitheatre in *Ravenna*, but both the time it was built, and his relating that near it the Temple of *Apollo* stood, makes it evident that it was only a Theatre. Nevertheless, there the Gladiators were sent to be train'd up and disciplin'd; and, as ^{*} *Strabo* avers, on account of the Wholesomeness of the Air there, *Cæsar* had formerly thought to appropriate it to the foresaid use: which, indeed, was at a time when Amphitheatres were not in being. *Salvianus* mentions the Theatre as the most singular Curiosity in *Ravenna*, but speaks not one word about the Amphitheatre. The anonymous *Velesianus* informs us, that *Theodoric* built an Amphitheatre in *Pavia*; but who can believe they thought on such a Structure in the sixth Age of Christianity, when the Gladiators and every kind of bloody Games were abolished? So that we must conclude it to have been a Theatre or *Circus*, since 'tis certain Horse-Races were every where much longer in use, as were the *Circensian* Games, celebrated even by ¹³ *Totila*. I observ'd, with much Pleasure, in that City a

¹² *Circ. c. 26.*

^{*} *Lib. 5.*

¹³ *Hist. Mis. l. 16. c. 19.*

116 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

most curious and noted Inscription, relating to such a kind of Edifice, made by *Theodoric*; tho' the Legend does not explain precisely what the Building was.

And indeed there are a great number of modern, and even famous Writers, who sometimes confound the Words Amphitheatre and Theatre one with the other; nor a few who suffer themselves to be deceiv'd by Monuments not genuine, and by laying too great a stress on the modern Lives of Saints, and the spurious Deeds of Martyrs, wherein the word Amphitheatre is here and there often mentioned. But what shall we say to the *Latin* Versions of Authors, or the *Greek* Monuments, which place Amphitheatres where they never could have been? For example, the *Latin* Acts of Saint *Taracus* and his Companions, names the Amphitheatre three times; but in the *Greek* Original, we read that the Martyrdoms of those Saints ensued in the ¹⁴ *Stadium*. In the Translation of the Fragment of the Book of Martyrs in *Palestine*, Amphitheatres are three times named, tho' the *Greek* of *Eusebius* has no such thing; for there we read that the Shew was perform'd in the *Stadium*. In the Life of *Hadrian* the Sophist, wrote by ¹⁵ *Philostratus*, the *Latin* changes the words *Amphitheatrical Shews* thus, *the Rounds*

¹⁴ περιεται δε εις μέσον τὸ σταδION.

¹⁵ ἀρχαῖος θεας ἐρχησῶν. Spectaculis Amphitheatrorum, &c.
of

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 117

of *Dances*. On the other hand, *Peanius*, in his *Greek* Version, renders it, *The Gladiatory Theatre*; whereas the *Latin* of *Eutropius* has it *Ludus*, namely, the School of Gladiators. In the Translation of * *Dio* 'tis said, that the Image of *Drusilla* was brought into the Theatre on a Chariot drawn by Elephants; whereas the *Greek* has it *Circus*. In *Xiphiline's Greek* likewise, 'tis common to find the Theatre call'd Amphitheatre; and the word Hunting, as *Dio* uses to term it, left out of the Text. But *Xiphiline* seems not to have liked the word *Amphitheatre* at all; no more did the other *Greeks*: The reason of which can be nothing else, I think, but that the foresaid word had its Origin in *Italy*, and out of *Greece*; and this, if I mistake not, is pretty well confirm'd in the Remarks I made in my ¹⁶ History of *Diploma's*; namely, that the word *Diploma* itself, notwithstanding it was *Greek*, was however not used by the *Grecians*, ¹⁷ *Plutarch* excepted, and even by him with a kind of Modesty; and for no other Reason, but because it had its Origin out of *Greece*, and was used at *Rome*.

But to conclude this Head, 'tis certain that many have been mistaken in surveying the Remains of ancient Buildings, by taking one thing for another. The small *Peninsula* of

* Lib. 59. ¹⁶ L. 1. n. 13.

¹⁷ In Galba. Τα καλεμένα Διπλωματα.

118 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Sarmio in our Lake, because there are the Remains of some Walls, and a part of a Building there, has been judg'd to be a *Roman* Work, and is call'd, the House of *Catullus*; which Name seems not without some reason to have been given it, and appears to have been handed down to our times.

* *Parthenius* the Commentator on that Poet, imagined this to be the Remains of a Theatre; which Opinion was approved of by *Joseph Scaliger*, so that † *Dempster* very fantastically reckoned *Sarmio* among the twelve Cities of the *Hetrurians* on this side of the *Appennines*.

The truth is, the ancient Palaces had some parts like the Auditory of the Theatres, as I have observed in several ancient Remains. *Valesius*, in his Account of *Gaul*, observes, and from him ‡ *Mabillon*, that one of the Amphitheatres, about which *Lipsius* has treated, was no Amphitheatre at all, but only the Ruins of a Palace of the Kings of *France*: and indeed the Description *Lipsius* gave of it, agrees neither with the Structure of an Amphitheatre, nor a Palace; that Author having, I am afraid, not employ'd his Judgement therein to much purpose. But the most experienced Antiquaries have sometimes committed such Blunders; as is plain by || *Fabretti*, who imagined he saw the Remains of an Amphitheatre at *Trebula Mutuesca*; whereas himself shews

* *Theatri lateritii reliquiis, &c.*
 c. 9. & 107. ‡ *Rs. dipl. l. 4. c. 142.*

† *Het. Regal. l. 4.*
 || *Inf. p. 400.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 119

it had ceased to be a City long before any Idea of an Amphitheatre had been conceived.

The Appearance of any round or oval Figure produces in some Peoples Imagination, the Fancy of an Amphitheatre. To this we may add, that where the Remains of a *Circus* or Theatre are to be seen, nay of many other kinds of ancient Buildings, they very much resemble the Figure of an Amphitheatre. But what shall we say, when it happens in many places, that People on finding Ruins, immediately cry out, that they are the Remains of an Amphitheatre, or of some *Roman* Temple or another; and yet every Part of what they do see, is modern, and not so much as an antique Stone to be found, or the least Resemblance of one appearing there?

Nay, what shall we say to the great number of Prints, which in a bare-faced manner are made to impose upon us, by having lofty Amphitheatres in Cities and Places engraven on them, when mis-shapen Figures, of a roundish Form, are only to be found at those Places? In the Book intitled *Antiquities explain'd*, a Drawing is given of an Amphitheatre of three Orders at *Autun*; as if it still existed there, with a Portico above the Steps, and Statues on the outside; but those who have been in the Country affirm, that all this is merely the Work of the Pen, and Buildings upon Paper. Of this we are sure, by observing the whole is only

120 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

copied from a Drawing of *Ligorio*, who figured out the *Arena* of *Verona* according to his own Caprice. For which reason we shall give that Building a place with our *Naumachia*, as a thing thrust into the posthumous Works of *Panvinus*, on the Antiquities of *Verona*. In the forementioned Collection, the intire Drawing and Profile of the Steps of the Amphitheatre of *Italica* in *Spain*, is also shewn; notwithstanding we read at the same time, that the said Amphitheatre is ruin'd, even to its very Foundation. In the ample and noble Collection of Architectonic Works, lately compiled by *Fischers*, 'tis affirm'd, that the Amphitheatre of *Terragona* contained Eighty thousand Men; and this Calculation they have been able to make from a small Piece of an ancient Wall, and an Arcade, which they are inform'd is remaining in those Parts.

C H A P. XI.

That 'tis easy to mistake the Monuments of Antiquity by the Draughts given of them, and to believe Amphitheatres to be where they are not.

IF People mistake in judging about the very Remains of ancient Buildings, what may they not in the Imagery of them, upon

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 121

worn-out Metal, or in half-consumed *Basso-Relieve's* or other kinds of ancient Monuments which they see? In the *Dittici* delineated by *Anastasius*, the eastern Consul *Viltemius* imagin'd he saw the Figure of an Amphitheatre, in which the Games of Wild-Beasts and Men were perform'd; and this was afterwards copied by *Pagi*. But I would gladly know what Appearance there is of an Amphitheatre in a Semi-Circle, without Steps, and where the Spectators are represented on the outside of it? Nay, it is extremely well confirm'd by the foresaid *Dittici*, that in *Constantinople* they exhibited such Shews in very different kinds of Buildings, and not in an Amphitheatre, altho' by a like use they may sometimes have been called by that Name. In the same manner a certain Edifice which appears on a Medal of *Faustina* the Elder, publish'd by *Mezza-barba*, is judg'd to be an Amphitheatre, but not justly: But at present I find it convenient to treat particularly on the Amphitheatres believ'd by some to be on *Trajan's* Pillar.

I know not what kind of round Building it is that is twice represented, obscurely, on the foresaid Pillar; the first near a City besieg'd by the *Dacians*, the next, where the Embassadors are sent from *Decebalus* to *Trajan*: It is not possible, I say, from the Obscurity of the Stone to assert what they really are:

122. Of AMPHITHEATRES.

are: And indeed notwithstanding ¹⁸ *Ciacconius* has illustrated that incomparable Monument to very great Advantage, when he comes to those two places he prudently passes by them, and says nothing on that head. *Bellori*, who afterwards made fresh Annotations thereon, imagin'd he could distinguish Steps, therefore thinks they represented Amphitheatres; speaking of one of them, he says, ¹⁹ *Among the Buildings of that City, or Castle, there was a Castrenſian Amphitheatre of Wood.* ²⁰ *Fabretti* laugh'd at their believing it *Castrenſian*, or of Wood; and in suppoſing it fix'd, he thought it indicated that City to have been a *Roman* Colony. But that would be a new Mark of a Colony indeed, ſince there were none at that time in thoſe Parts: For, as we learn from *Dio*, they were only eſtabliſh'd by *Trajan* after the War was ended. And indeed it would be too ſtrange a thing, to find that ſuch obſcure and unknown Cities upon the *Tiber* had then Amphitheatres. But allowing that the foremention'd Buildings had been there, we cannot believe them to have been made of any other Material but Wood, and, indeed, the haſty Productions of military Hands; like the other two Buildings in *Italy* made by a Legion, in the time of *Vitellius*, as is already mentioned. What is ſeen in the firſt Print, as

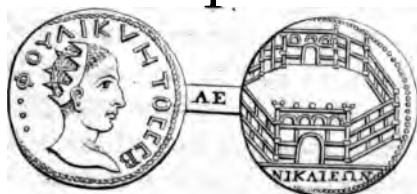
¹⁸ *Tab. 29. & 87.*

¹⁹ *Tab. 23. & 85.*

²⁰ *Colon. Tra. pag. 39. & 86.*

Plate II.

I.



II.

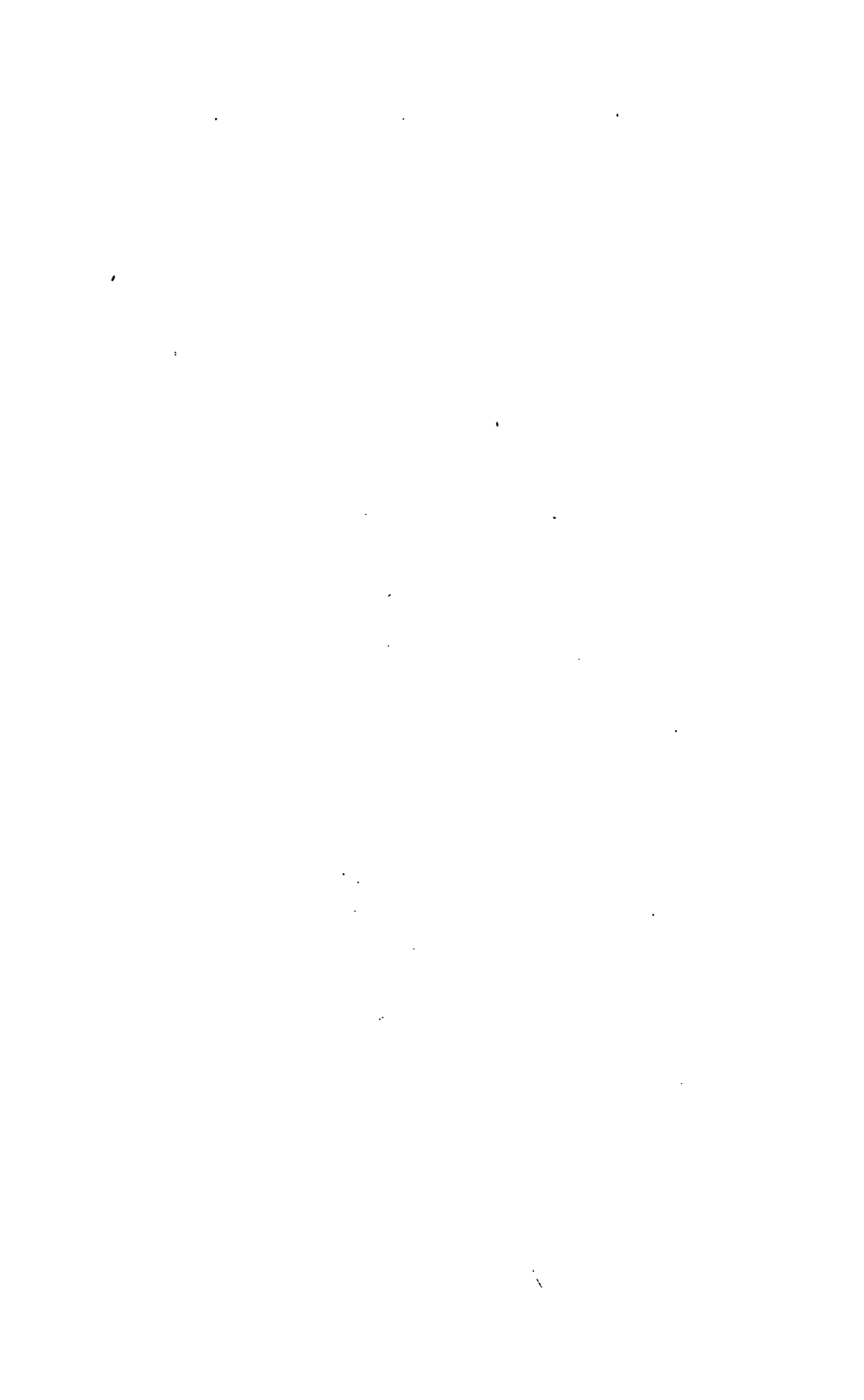


III.



IV.





Of AMPHITHEATRES. 123

is exactly delineated by *Mutianus*, inclines to believe them of Wood. *Fabretti* attests, that the principal Piles in the Circuit of such a Building, were painted at the Top: Palisadoes are at present; which agrees with the Descriptions we have of the ancient *Vallum*. A Medal of *Licinius*, and also the Authority of *Varro* and *Livy*, persuade us thoroughly, that the Wood of the *Vallum* was form'd in another manner: but in the beginning of the foremention'd Pillar, we find the Wood of that enclosed Place sharpen'd in the same manner, and it likewise surrounds the military Magazines in an oval Form. Besides, 'tis certain, that the soldiers in that War had something else to do than to build Amphitheatres; and, indeed, oval and round Figures, seen on those worn-out Stones, may be apply'd to too great a number of things: Nor will any [who knows the extravagant Irregularities often found in the Works of the Ancients, with regard to Proportion or Perspective] venture to determine any thing about them. Wherefore one must not trust too much either to the height or bigness of the like Figures, as they appear there.

In some Medals of Silver is to be seen a Figure not unlike that already mentioned in *Trajan's Pillar*, tho' somewhat nearer resembling an Amphitheatre: The Reverse of which would surely be so judged, if the Legend

124 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Legend did not make it appear otherwise; and the round Figure here represented, had not been called a *Prætorian Camp*, by the Antiquaries who first observ'd it; and for which reason it bears that Name till this day. But before we begin to treat about it, I shall give another here, which, in my Opinion, represents the same thing; and what remains of the Circuit, seems to have prepared the way to them. Upon it is the Head of *Fulvius Julius Quietus*, who is reckoned among the Tyrants; and of whom no *Greek* Medal had ever before been seen, but only an *Egyptian* Coin registrated by *P. Banduri*. That the Reverse does not figure out any *Prætorian*, or any other Camp or Palisade, as is believed of some other Medals like it, is manifest, by finding Walls and Towers, and sumptuous Gates thereon, and by our understanding from the Word below, that the City of *Nicea* is represented there. Another *Greek* Medal, which had never before been seen of *Macrianus*, Brother of *Quietus*, was published by Signor *Haym*, a *Roman* in his *Tesoro Britannico*: it is likewise struck in the same City, having the like Figure upon it. It is very natural to think, that the Walls and Gates of *Nicea* were repaired (to which the Citizens alluded by such Coins) during the War with *Persia*, in which *Quietus* behaved so gallantly.

How-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 125

However, round or oval Enclosures are seen in the forementioned Medals of Silver, which [as far as was possible to be represented in so small a Space] much more resembles an Amphitheatre, than other Figures that are taken for such Buildings, tho' indeed they are commonly explain'd as representing *Prætorian Camps*. Such kinds of Figures on Medals, began to appear in the Time of *Dioclesian*. Before the Gate of the Enclosure stand four Men, in a military Habit; two of them in the Attitude of sacrificing on an Altar, the others have a Tripode in the Middle. The same Reverse is on a Coin of *Maximianus Herculeius*, who, together with *Dioclesian*, was Emperor; likewise in that of *Galerius* and *Constans*, who at the same time were *Cæsars*. Three different Legends are found on a Medal, on which are all their Heads engraven; the Inscription is thus, *Providentia Augustorum, Virtus Militum, Victoria Sarmatica*. So that as there were no Amphitheatres at that time, notwithstanding the Appearance of them; neither do I believe, that on those Coins are represented either *Prætorian Camps* in *Rome*, or *Campestrian* in War. The Walls figured out on them are either oval or round, but the *Roman Vallum* [which was not a Stone Wall, nor Towers, but of Earth, like the Entrenchments in this present Age] was square, as may very well be

126 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

be gathered from *Polybius*. The *Prætorian* Camps were made near the Walls of *Rome*, in imitation of the Encampments for the Army in War, and of a square Form, as appears by their Remains, observed by *Panvinus*; or at least, as such they were seen in his Time, between the *Viminal* and *Tiburtine* Gates, in the Place where the *Vivarium* is thought to have been. From the square Figure of the Remains of those Walls, ¹⁸ *P. Donato* was confirmed in the Belief, that they had been *Prætorian* Camps. On the other hand, the figures of Cities are found impressed in that manner upon Medals; namely, with a round Enclosure, as is seen in the *Colonia Casilinum* in *Cæsar's* Coins, which seem'd to *Mezzabarba* to be a spherical Building, with Towers at Intervals, as the City *Tusculana* appears in the Coins of the *Sulpician* Family, refer'd to by *Ursinus*. I therefore think, that the forementioned Medals have not *Prætorian* Camps represented on them, as has hitherto been interpreted; but on that Coin of *Nicea*, no less than a whole City is figured out, either as having been subdued in War, [as is denoted by the Words, *Virtus Militum Victoria Sarmatica*] or as restored and fortified anew; which is pointed out by that other, with the Legend, *Providentia Augustorum*. Nor could any boast of the *Sarmatic* Victo-

¹⁸ L. 1. c. 15.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 127

ry with so much Justice, as those forementioned Princes; on account of whose Expeditions, *Eumenius*, in his Panegyric on *Constantians* says, that that Nation was almost destroyed. And since such an Impression is nowhere else seen but on those four who reign'd together, and are found with all those Motto's in every one of them, 'tis therefore probable, that the four Figures there, represent the two Emperors, and both the *Cæsars*: And by the Sacrifice or Dedication of the Building, or the rendering Thanks for the Victory, is denoted the Conjunction or Concord among them, attributing to the '9 whole that which every one of them had perform'd.

The Conjecture I have made, that on these Coins the *Prætorian* Camps were not represented, but only the Cities, seems to be confirmed by that Medal in the second Plate here annexed, which till now had never been seen; where the Words shew, that by the same Type the City of *Verona* is represented. And here I shall first of all give an account how this Monument of Antiquity fell lately by chance into my hands. While I was searching among the Collections of Medals in *Venice*, in order to see if any other Legend could be found with that Impression, besides those three already mentioned, I earnestly begg'd of my courteous Friend, the

¹⁹ *Vopif. in carin. Quatuor sane Principes unum in Republica sentientes.*

128 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Abbot *Onorio Arrigoni*, to look into his vast Collection, among which are those of Plate the second; all which that worthy Gentleman keeps not only for his own Amusement, but with a noble Design thereby to promote Learning. Among the many and particular Series's collected by him, he has 800 Medals of *Colony's*, 1500 *Greek Coins*, and 1200 *Egyptian*; which last, if I can, some time or another, have but leisure to publish, I am not out of hope but that Chronology in general will thereby receive some new Light. The next day that Gentleman brought me eight Medals of Silver, having all the same Reverse; among the others, the Coin we have hinted at, the Singularity of the Legend of which he then only wonder'd at, notwithstanding it had long before been sold him among a heap of others of Silver, without having observed it, or judging it of greater value than what it barely weighed. This Circumstance immediately gave credit to its Genuineness, since a spurious Coin could not have been made, but with a design to impose on the World, and to gain by it. The good Opinion concerning its being genuine, was moreover confirmed by all who took a view of the Medal, and the Agreement of that which it contained. The Head is of *Galerius Maximus*, who, together with *Constantius Chlorus*, was made *Cæsar*, by the two Emperors, *Anno 302*. The Legend on the Reverse

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 129

verse I read thus, *Verona Nova Porta rite condita*. Scarce was *Constans* made *Cæsar*, but he was sent into *Gaul*: Concerning *Galerius*, not any thing is mentioned for a long time by Historians; I only find that he fought with the *Sarmatians*, and built Castles among them; and yet we see Coins of him with his Image, and the Words, *Victoria Sarmatica* thereon; and where, as we have said, are Cities or Castles represented. He also was in the Wars in *Germany*, so that 'tis credible he passed several times through *Italy*, tho' we do not find it mentioned, except in the Year 304, when he came to confer with *Maximian* the Elder at *Milan*; and yet nothing seems to be more natural, than to imagine that in his Passage or Stay at *Verona*, he erected a new Gate there. *Gallienus*, not long before, had built new Walls, with a sumptuous Gate, which subsists till this day: the Inscription thereon being still to be seen, and as that Work was perform'd in very great haste, as appears by that Inscription, so it is probable that another Gate may have remained imperfect, and afterwards compleated by the Emperor *Maximian*. *Aurelius Victor* hints at several Walls re-built by *Maximian* in various Cities, among others those of *Milan*. Our Gate, as the Inscription denotes, was erected *rite*, viz. according to the Rite prescrib'd in the Pagan Religion, and with those *Auspicia* required in

K

building

130 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

building Walls and Gates of Cities; which, as we find in *Justinian's* Institutes, were then²⁰ esteemed sacred things. The Sacrifice however, as appears by the Medal already thereon, was perform'd after the new Gate had been made, and at its Entry, according to the usual Rites, which denotes its Dedication; that is, they declared the Work was perfected, and that they began with the Favour of the Gods to make use of it. And indeed, its agreement with History, as well as the Ceremony and Words used here, seem very much above the knowledge of the Falsifiers of Coins, who, as the good Providence of God will have it, are, for the most part, Idiots and ignorant Fellows: It being observ'd, that as soon as they send any of their Performances abroad into the World, they are commonly attended with some Blunder or other of their own making. To which we may add, that it is not at all probable, that any Person feigning the Representation of a City by the Words round the Coin, would have made Choice of a Medal, the Impression on which hitherto has not been taken for a City, but always a Prætorian Camp. Nor ought it to be regarded, that by the Impression itself several Cities are represented on such Medals, one in *Italy*, another in *Sarmatia*, and others we know not where. For as in

²⁰ De Rer. Div. l. 2. Sancta quoque res veluti muri & porta Civitatis.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 131

the lower Ages the Legend on Medals did not often allude to a particular Fact, as they did in the higher, since by mere flattery the Motto was apply'd in common to any of the Emperors; so did they often make use of the same Impressions variously: The Figures in the Medals of *Constantine*, which are in the same Attitude and Clothing, sometimes denote *France*, sometimes *Germany*. A Representation which comes near this we are now describing, namely, with a Wall, and a Gate; but without the four Figures, and made likewise to resemble a City or Castle; not Prætorian Camps, as 'tis interpreted, and not Magazines, as some others would lately have it understood: Such an Impression on a Medal, I say, begins to be seen in the time of *Constantius Chlorus*, and continues even to the time of *Crispus*; being the Reverse of, at least, ten different Heads, and with the same Legend, *Providentia*, *Virtus*, sometimes *Militum*, at others *Augustorum* or *Cæsarum*. And 'tis undoubtedly certain, that tho' the Form is the same, yet the City restored or fortify'd, or, if you please, the Castle denoted, for the most part are different one from the other. The same Impression we find on the Coins of *Valentinian*, of *Magnus Maximus*, and of *Flavius Victor*, but with a different Inscription. By which is confirm'd, how very much those People have been mistaken, who take such Figures for Præ-

132 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

torian Camps, since in those days no such thing was in use, having been destroy'd by *Constantine* after his Victory over *Maxentius*, and the Prætorian Bands, which had been favourable to him, as ²¹ *Zosimus* says, were abolished.

The military Quarters, not the Prætorian, might only perhaps be represented by such an Impression, inasmuch as the fix'd Quarters or Garisons placed in the Enemy's Frontiers, were like Castles, whence the words *Castrum* and *Castellum* had their Origine. And such may have been those *Castra Præsidaria*, mention'd by ²² *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to have been built by *Valentinian* on the other side the *Danube*. *Victor* mentions Camps to have been made, even from *Trajan's* time, in the Places most suspected. As to my own Belief, that what was represented on the Coin of *Verona* and others, was the Gate of a City and not a Camp; a Difficulty occur'd to me, at first therein: namely, when I observ'd that the Gates of ancient Cities were made double, like ours of *Gallienus* in *Verona*, and 'tis shewn on the Medals of *Emerita*, a City in *Spain*, and *Casilinum*, already mentioned.

But all Gates were, I find, not built in the manner, a Proof of which we may see by the first Medal; whereon the Gate of *Naples*

²¹ *Lib. 2.*

²² *Lib. 29. c. 6.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 133

is represented, and is like that already mentioned, with only one Door. We may also observe the third Coin in the same Plate, namely, in that of *Gordianus Pius*, where one of the Gates of *Adrianople* is likewise represented ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. And that we may learn how they were variously built, I present you with one, in a manner never before observed, namely with three Doors or Entries, viz. that of *Nicopolis of Epirus*, on the Coin of *Hadrian*, ΙΕΡΑΚ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Those who have Knowledge in Antiquity will, on the first View, perhaps take it for an Arch, and not a Gate; and they might truly believe it such, because of its having three Apertures, if the four Windows above, and the two Towers on its sides, did not put it beyond all doubt that it is the Gate of a City. In *Serlio* we find the ancient Gate of *Spello*, delineated by him; it has two such Towers also, and is acknowledged to be antique, tho' in a modern manner restored and repaired. That of *Emerita* shews likewise two lateral Towers, for which reason *Spanheim* and *Pain* believed it to be a Castle; and in like manner do they figure out on Coins the Gates of the Citys of *Nicopolis* on the *Danube*, in that of *Trajan*, namely, *Trajanopolis*. A new Remark occurs naturally here, in order to confirm that all the above-mention'd Medals do not represent in any other way

134 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the Prætorian Quarters. Those Quarters had certainly the Gates double; namely, with two Entries. That other Gates besides those of the City were built, where a vast number of People were to pass, is plain by the Remains of another double Gate, a great part of which is standing till this day in *Verona*, and which, we are certain, never had been a Gate of that City. That those of the Prætorian Camp were such, I learn from that Medal, which, in my Opinion, is the only one that shews it; I say the only one, since I do not see it delineated on other Coins, where one would think it would be more proper: such as in those of the *Allocutions* to the *Armies*, in the Donatives distributed by the Emperor to the Soldiers, and where the Title of *Pater*, or *Mater Castrorum*, is given. The Medal in which it is seen, is that of *Claudius*, where is a Wall with a double Gate, and the Legend in the middle, *Imperatore recepto*; indicating, that the Soldiers after the Death of *Caligula* found *Claudius* in the place where he lay hid, whence carrying him to the Camp or military Quarters, they proclaimed him Emperor, as we learn from *Suetonius* and *Dio*; and indeed, were what is impressed on the foremention'd Medals Prætorian Camps, a double Door would certainly appear.

No Exception, I think, then can be found against our Medal; for the Authenticity of which,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 135

which, one other Accident did in some measure contribute. As soon as it was found, a certain ingenious Artift fell to work on a Coin of *Constans*, which had the same Reverse, where having raz'd out the old Letters, he found a Method to put in the Word *Verona*. This Counterfeit I willingly bought myself, not because I was cheated, as he who sold it me imagin'd, but that I might, by comparing it with my own, make it serve to confirm the Genuineness of the latter. The Difference in the Characters on them, their Size, Sharpness, Incavity, and Form, besides the Alteration of the Field, appearing very evident to those who have but a middling Skill in such things. By this Incident we may also learn, that it was impossible to make any new Inscription in the Contour of the Medal so long, but that the very Weight of the Coin would shew the Cheat; since in that which was counterfeited, in order to evade this, they have only put in the word *Verona*, and in the other part shewn, as if the Medal had been spoil'd and mutilated. But, besides this new Confirmation, the Opinion of the best Judges of Medals is in Favour of it, who have been allow'd to examine it as long as they pleased. On it the ancient Stamp is evident, and the Medal stands the Test of the Weight; for being put into a nice Pair of Gold Scales, when compared with other Medals of the like kind, it was

136 *Of* AMPHITHEATRES:

found without the least difference; whereas to take away the old Letters, and likewise to diminish the Field, in order to make new, which is the only Fraud that might be suspected, this could not be done without diminishing the Weight sensibly.

I doubt not but some will wonder, that notwithstanding all these Proofs, I should still speak with a kind of Reserve, and not confidently assert what may be drawn from the whole: But this proceeds from one of my Maxims, from whence I have never departed, nor shall I ever; and it is this, Not to found an Opinion, or a new Discovery, on the Faith of one Medal, tho' none should oppose it; especially when such an Opinion differs from what has been already received by the World. And this made me establish the Pleasure I took in several Cities to compare the ablest Connoisseurs in Medals, and some reckoned infallible, one with another, where I have many times found them disagreeing: and likewise have seen, that there are none, but who some time or other have erred. For after I understood how many surprizing and various ways the Falsifiers of Medals have freely put in practice, this is the only Crime that we see permitted to pass with Impunity; notwithstanding Thieving, in this Case, is often join'd with Treachery and a pernicious Subversion of History, and of every other most
important

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 137

important Branch of Knowledge. 'Tis not, however, on this account, that I have the least Inclination to doubt about the Genuineness of every Medal; but as the Legend of that we have been describing is entirely new, with respect to a City of *Italy*, so I shall not regard, nor take any pains about it, unless I should happen to publish it at another Opportunity. It shall, however, be in my own hands, and always offered to the Examination of the Curious; Signor *Arrigone*, the Abbot, having made me a Present thereof, as 'tis his Custom to be liberal to his Friends.

But let us at length put an end to this Digression, if we will call it so, since it is intended to make us know that we ought not on account of the Roundness of Buildings in Monuments of Antiquity, to conclude or imagine, that they are the Remains of Amphitheatres, especially that which is represented on the foremention'd Medals. Besides, for the better illustrating the History of the *Veronese Arena*, it was necessary to be particular therein, in order to come at the true Meaning of what is represented on the fore-said Coin of the Emperor *Maximian*, since it is the current Opinion of many, that that Building was erected in the Reigns of both the *Maximians*. Nor would some be wanting, who [by Reckoning the Impression on the Medal a representation of an Amphitheatre,] might have been still confirmed in that false Opinion.

CHAP.

138 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

C. H. A. P. XII. :

Amphitheatres out of Rome, of which till this day evident Remains subsist.

TH E Cities which, besides *Rome* have, [according to universal Observation and Belief, handed down to us for Ages,] till this day famous Remains of *Arenas* in them, are reduced to four namely, *Verona, Capua, Pola* and *Nîmes*. Yet what should we say, if I should except against some of these few? And yet it must be so, for when I took the pains to go myself to *Pola*, I discovered evidently, that the ancient Building there was nothing else but magnificent Theatre; which Particular, shall clearly prove in Book the second, when it shall be described. If I was to give credit to certain Marks, and some particular Observations communicated to me about that of *Nîmes*, by a Person who had been some days in that City, I should incline to think it no Amphitheatre at all: For in effect it appears to have only consisted of two Stories, and has no Numbers engraven on the Arches; and as describ'd in the *Antiquities explain'd*, it has no Windows in the higher part of the

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 139

Building : and Father *Montfaucon* himself confesses, that it differs from other Amphitheatres, and has Doors instead of Stairs ; but as I have not seen it, I shall therefore not presume to affirm any thing about it, but leave it at present, and that of *Pola* too : which last was a Theatre very different from the common Sort, with regard to its Architecture ; and more sumptuous than the others, having the external Circuit like that of an Amphitheatre. But as I have by Examination found, how very rare Amphitheatres have been, this excites my Curiosity the more to know the History of those abovementioned, especially that of *Verona*, which, next to the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, is the largest of any, and of which we have undertaken to treat in particular : but as bad Fortune would have it, no very certain account can well be learned of either that or the other ; nor can we precisely ascertain when or by whom they were made, there being neither Writers nor Monuments of Antiquity, which give us light therein, or that mention any thing about them, unless we except that of *Capua*, because of the Fragment of an Inscription published last Year about it. That we find no account of them in antient Historians, is not to be wonder'd at, since they took no care about what was done in the *Municipia* ; we ought rather to wonder, that the large Inscription [which, according to the common Usage, was placed on

140 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

on the Front of Amphitheatres, above the principal Entry] has not been found, nor that of *Rome*, or the others ever published to the World: And indeed it seems to be a kind of Fatality, that the Inscriptions of the greatest Works of any, should for the most part be lost; tho' there is no doubt but that such Inscriptions have formerly been made, since we learn from * *Plutarch*, that the Theatre made and dedicated by *Augustus*, was by his Order, in the Inscription, attributed to *Marcellus*; and we know from *Dio*, that in another Inscription, upon a sumptuous *Portico* built likewise by him, he caused the Name of *Livy* to be mentioned. On the Theatre of *Pompey* there was at first, the memory of him, and on the Scene, that of *Tiberius*, who had rebuilt it; both these Inscriptions were replaced by *Claudius*, when he restored the Theatre: and upon this account he himself set up a third, to serve for a Dedication.

As to the Inscription placed by *Trajan* in the *Circus Maximus*, after he had repaired and enlarged it, the Historian mentions what it contain'd; namely, that he had made the Fabrick capable to accommodate the People of *Rome*. The Use of Inscriptions was common in publick Edifices, not only when first built, but when repaired. So

* *Plut. in Marc.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 141

Augustus, in the *Lapis Ancyranus*, expressed it as a Singularity, that he had made and repaired several Works without placing any Inscription, with his Name thereon. And *Spartianus* observed with wonder, that *Severus*, when he repaired the publick Edifices, scarce in any of them did he put his Name, but only left them to preserve the Memory of their first Builders. One remark we may make here before we proceed, and it is this, That any one of the four Cities above mention'd, may not only boast of their Amphitheatres or Theatres, with the external Circuit, like that of Amphitheatres, but also of such other Remains of ancient Magnificence and Grandeur, as greatly exceed that of other Cities: Ours of *Verona*, perhaps abounds therein more than any of the others. *Capua* has the Remains of an Arch not far from the Amphitheatre, and near the Tower of St. *Erasmus*; as the Canon *Mazochio* avers, there are the Vestiges of a Theatre also. As to that of *Nimes* in *France*, 'tis sufficient to see *Serlio's* Epistle to *Francis* the First, prefixed to his third Book. This Author affirms, that at that time there was an Arch enrich'd with Ornaments, a *Corinthian* Temple, a magnificent *Aqueduct* of three Orders, one above the other. *Causabon* calls it a Bridge, and

¹ Gr. pag. 232. Sine ulla Inscriptione Nominis Mel.

² Ad Spart.

mentions

142 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

mentions the Ruins of a Palace with three Orders also; and of beautiful Structure with a *Cupola* at the top, supported with ten fluted Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order; this last may perhaps have been the *Basilica* of *Plotina*, built at *Nimes* by order of *Hadrian*, and mentioned by *Spartianus*, to have been of *admirable Workmanship*. That it had the resemblance of a Temple, the Building it self inclines us to believe. ¹ *Xiphiline* also mentions it by that Name; near it were two Octangular Turrets, which shews us how the Ancients fortify'd. Besides, there were also several Statues, and Inscriptions in abundance. *Palladio* has been pleas'd also to give us a minute Description of two other ancient Temples in *Nimes*. • What regards *Pola*, shall be mentioned in another Place; it being sufficient here to say, that till this Day, not only one, but several Remains of ancient Buildings are subsisting there, of such Beauty and so well preserved, that scarcely can their Elegancy be conceived, but by those who have seen them.

From those Ruins, with such eloquent Inscriptions, we learn, that which cannot be well comprehended from those few entirely Jeune Writers of the Things out of *Rome*; namely, that those Cities, in the first Ages of the Empire, were famous and great, since in every one of them [the better to e-

¹ In *Had.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 143

vince that they were at that time more magnificent than many others, which afterwards exceeded them] we find that besides the Amphitheatre, there was a great number of other noble Remains of sumptuous Buildings. How easy is it then to see in what manner modern Writers are deceived, who, full of modern Ideas, have their Eyes so dazzled, that they confound the System of the Times of the Empire after *Constantine*, with the higher Ages; not esteeming any antient City as great, unless it made a considerable Figure in the latter Times? But that those Cities, in the earlier Ages, were by far greater than many of the others, which afterwards were much enlarged, and that the Splendor of the latter began not until the magnificent Edifices of the *Pagans* were out of use; the above-mention'd Marbles are irrefragable Proofs: For I would gladly know, by what occult Cause could so many Remains of famous Buildings have been preserved in the Cities which had Amphitheatres? insomuch that therein they exceed all the others, *Rome* excepted; and yet no such Monuments of Antiquity appear preserved in those other Cities, which, according to the vulgar Opinion, [for so I must call it] had formerly publick Structures, they say, both more vast, and in greater abundance, than those we have been speaking about? What is *Nimes*, says *Lipsius*, in comparison

* Cap. 5.

144 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

rison of the other great Cities of *France*? To this I answer, If *Nimes* was so small a Town, why was it distinguished by its Coins above all the other Cities of *Gaul* in *Augustus's* Time? That most beautiful Medal, tho' a common one, whereon is the Head of that Emperor and *Agrippina*, is marked with the Attribute of a Colony. *Tristanus* refers to such another in the same Age: Besides, why did they give *Nimes* the Title of *Colonia Augusta*? And why, among so many other Cities, did ⁸ *Hadrian* make choice of it for building a magnificent *Basilica* to *Plotina*? Why likewise in the lower Ages was one of the three Mints of *France* erected in *Nimes*, which, as we find in the *Notitia Imperii*, had its particular Superintendent? 'Twould be superfluous to mention what *Verona* and *Capua* have been in former Ages. In what condition the first was in the time of *Augustus*, is clearly shewn by a Passage of *Strabo*, which makes it at that time equal to *Milan*; and calls the other Towns, like those of *Mantua* and *Brescia* in its Neighbourhood, tho' large in themselves, but inconsiderable Places in comparison of *Verona*. Some Persons of undoubted Veracity have often told me, that they have seen the Remains of an Amphitheatre on the Outside of *Frejus* in *Provence*: That I own might perhaps have been, and

⁷ Gr. 323. 5. ⁸ Spart. in Had.

with

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 145

with more certainty too than any other they can boast of in *France*. *Serlio* likewise mentions it, and speaks of the Remains of another *Roman* Building there resembling a Palace. *Pliny*, speaking of those Parts of *Gaul*, says, they looked liker *Italy* continued, than a Province; besides, the maritime City there was called, *Colonia Julia*, and *Colonia Illustris*, in which *Romans* constantly resided, and from whence *Augustus* sent the Ships called *Rostratæ*, taken in the Battle of *Actium*; and there, as we learn from ¹⁰ *Tacitus*, did an armed Fleet lie, in the same manner as in *Messina* and *Ravenna*.

If we intirely admit of the Supplement and Interpretation given to an Inscription lately dug up near the Amphitheatre of *Capua* [excepting that of *Rome*] it is the only one we know which indicates the Person by whom, and the time when it was erected; namely, of having been built by the Community of the Colony of *Capua*, a little after that of *Titus* was repaired and adorned by the Emperor *Hadrian*, and dedicated by *Antoninus Pius*. The truth is, the Canon *Mazochio* has shewn himself a Person of Genius and Erudition, both in supplying the Defects of the Inscription, and in explaining its Meaning: nor is any thing in that Supplement but may be received with Approbation; only he uses the Word *Imagines*, where,

⁹ L. 3. c. 4. *Italia verius quam Provincia.* ¹⁰ Ann. L. 4.

146 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

I think, another would suit better with the Passage. There was not methinks any other City which could vie so well with that *Rome*, with regard to its wonderful Pile of the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, as *Capua*, in its Neighbourhood; either on account of the Greatness and Wealth of that City, or the Desire and Delight its Inhabitants had in it, and that even of old, for Gladiatory Shows. Nor indeed can we think on any Emperor which more probably restored and ornamented it than *Hadrian*; since none erected so many Buildings out of *Rome* as he, insomuch that *Spartian* speaks as if he had built in every City. Nor ought we to regard its having been dedicated by his Successor, and not by him; since 'tis probable he might have only begun the repairing of it in his latter Days. The Pillars which in the Inscription are said to have been added, would appear, I own, rather to agree to the Description of a Theatre than an Amphitheatre. But as to this it has been very well adverted to, that they might have been placed in the *Antiporta* or Lodge; nor does it alter the case very much, if we imagine, that the Inscription was made at the time of its Dedication, since after considerable Reparations 'twas usual, both to place fresh Inscriptions on such Buildings, and often to dedicate them anew, in order that they might be put to use; as we learn from *Dio*, in that Place
where

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 147

where we were speaking of the Theatre of *Pompey*: but in this is marked both its first Erection, by the People of *Capua*, and perhaps by these Words, A SOLO FECIT, which expressed, in the Lapidary Stile, that it was built from its very Foundation: likewise in it is mentioned, its being restored, and the Ornaments added thereto, and its new Dedication.

As to the Edifice at *Pola* and *Nimes*, we have no manner of hint about either of them in antient Monuments or Writers: tho' the Custom which *Hadrian* had to build every where, particularly at *Nimes*, furnishes us with a Conjecture, that the Fabrick at the latter might have been erected by him. But as *Spartianus*, in his Life, mentions the *Basilica* built by him in this Place, why then did he not speak of the Amphitheatre, which was a much greater Work? *Capitolinus*, in the Beginning of the Life of *Antoninus Pius*, affirms, that Emperor derived his Origin from the said City; for which reason *Casaubon* imagined, that he built the *Arena* there; but if so great a Work had been performed by an Emperor, why is the *Historia Augusta* silent therein? and the rather, since *Spartianus* has not neglected to mention another Edifice erected at *Nimes* by another Emperor: But let us, at length, come to that of *Verona*.

148 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

CHAP. XIII.

An Essay on the Age and Builder of the Veronese Arena.

WITH regard to the Time in which we may believe our *Arena* at *Verona* was built, the Writers are divided between two Opinions. Some have imagin'd it the Work of *Augustus*; of these was *Torello Sariana*, who was persuaded therein from having read such an Account in an ancient *Chronica*, and in the *Itinerary* of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, who lived in the fifteenth Age; likewise because *Suetonius* writes, that *Augustus* adorned *Italy* with Buildings. ¹ Father *Mabillon* was also of this Opinion: Others have believed it the Work of *Maximian*; among the first of such was ² *Sigonius*, in his Book *de Imperio Occidentali*; who was induced to imagine it so, only because the Builder thereof was unknown; and by erroneously supposing, that *Maximian* erected a Palace at *Brescia* and another in *Aquileia*: and this piece of Credulity was received by many, and even refer'd to by *Lydiat*, in his chronological Series. But as both these Conjectures do not stand on any solid Foundation, I'm of opi-

¹ *It. Ital.* p. 25.

² *Lib.* I.

nion,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 149

nion, that the one makes its *Æra* too early, the other too late. The Architecture thereof might, I own, much easier incline us to believe it to have been built in the time of *Augustus* than *Maximian*; the whole appearing to have been rather the Work of the Ages wherein Elegancy in the Arts was prevalent, than when they were not: And indeed, the *Tuscan* Order in all the Stories thereof, seems to indicate its Antiquity. Besides, *Augustus* having brought Water into *Brescia*, as appears by an Inscription, shews that he promoted the Works in those Parts where the Palace of *Maximian* in *Brescia* and *Aquileia* are meerly supposed to have been; since the Panegyrist quoted by *Sigonius* alone, speaks not of any thing else but of a Picture, placed by *Maximian* in the Palace of *Aquileia*. Yet for all this, I cannot be induced to believe, that an Amphitheatre wholly of Stone, and of such Architecture, was ever built in any Colony in *Augustus's* time, before any such Fabric had been seen in *Rome*, and before that of *Titus* (an Original for the others to copy from) was erected. It seems also credible, that this would, on some Occasion or other, have been mentioned by *Pliny*, who speaks of Pictures and things of less consequence than it, to have been in several places of his native Country. *Lipsius*, methinks, derides

^s *Inf. Ren.*

150 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the Reasons alledg'd by the good *Sariana*, a little too severely, for judging it erected by *Augustus*: And, indeed, from the same Page in *Lipsius*, one may learn a Caution to overlook with Humanity, and to pardon mutually the Mistakes of others: Since, as great a Genius as he was, he himself as well as *Sariana*, erroneously cites the Epistle of ⁴ *Pliny*, as if address'd to *Maximus Africanus*, because he had read *vellem Africane quas coemerat*, when it is evident that it should be read *Africanae*, as alluding to the Panthers of *Africa*. *Celius* writing to ⁵ *Cicero*, speaks of those Animals of *Africa* brought there, and of ten being given to be used in the Games; so that it appears, from what is said before, that he speaks of Panthers: as does ⁶ *Livy*, and the other ⁷ *Pliny*, ⁸ *Suetonius* and others.

Besides the Opinion, that the Amphitheatre was built by *Maximian*, seems very inconsistent with the Circumstances of Affairs at that time. The Empire was then in confusion, *Italy* itself sorely afflicted, and the Cities there, especially those like *Verona*, situated on the Frontiers, in dread of the Incurfions threatned and begun by the Barbarians. Arts, besides, were then in great Decay; and the ancient Ideas of the oppress'd *Municipia* quite out of mind. Moreover, the

⁴ *Lib. 6. Ep. ult.*

⁵ *Fam. l. 8. Epist. 8. & 9.*

⁷ *Pl. l. 8. cap. 17.*

⁶ *Liv. l. 44.*

⁸ *Suet. cal. 18. ch. 21.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 151

Christian Religion, which then was diffused every where, and not long after triumphant, would scarcely have allow'd People to have effected a Work like that, which sprung from the Religion of the Pagans; and the rather, since in the Amphitheatres had been acted a constant Scene of Cruelty, having become places for Martyrdom. But what need we say any more on this head? We have, I think, a very sure Proof, that before *Maximine*, namely, in *Gallienus's* time, not only was our *Arena* already built, but began to be in decay. A Confirmation of this appears in the many Pieces of the ancient Walls of *Verona*, erected in the time of *Gallienus*; since in them I have observ'd Stones, not only of the Quality, Colour, and Form with those of the Amphitheatre, but are known by certain Marks, to have been formerly belonging to the external Circuit of that Structure there. ⁹ *Sariana* affords a notable Confirmation of this, where he avers, that he had seen some of those Stones with the Numbers which had been engraven on the Key-Stones of all the lower Arches. Nor is there any thing that renders it in the least incredible, that the exterior part of that Fabric began so soon to be ruinous. And, indeed, whether the Foundation was ill-laid, or was defective on account of the Place, or so on account of its being a Building

⁹ P. 23. In ipsi muris nonnulla Amphitheatri tabula cum numeris, &c.

152 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

all arch'd from top to bottom, where a great part was consequently empty, as a certain Architect asserts. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the Amphitheatre of *Catania*, in the time of *Theodoric*, was likewise, for the most part, fallen down; and *Cassiodorus* assures us, that the Stones thereof were made use of to repair the Walls there, and yet the Building was not demolished by Earthquakes, but ¹⁰ by Time: From whence, at least, it appears, that they were ancient Buildings, notwithstanding they did not for many Ages remain intire. Besides, the Theatre of *Pompey*, in the time of *Theodoric*, seem'd also inclining towards Ruin, and liable to fall ¹¹ suddenly, had they not found a Means to keep it up with large Supports or Buttresses and Pilasters.

The Desire I myself had of discovering with Certainty, the precise time when, and by whom, the Amphitheatre was made, excited me to dig in the Places where I had the greatest Chance for finding Inscriptions; and tho' I have not been so happy as to succeed therein, yet I met with two halves of Letters, which joined to a larger piece of Stone, with an Inscription, dug up out of the Well, in the middle made out . *S. Com.* That these Characters belong'd to the Inscription which had been formerly placed in the

¹⁰ Var. l. 3. c. 49. *Longa vetustate collapsa.*

¹¹ Cass. Var. l. 4. c. 51. *Stue masculis pilis contineri potuerit.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 153

Front of the Amphitheatre, is probable on account of their unusual Size, for the O is no less than eleven Inches in Diameter, correspondent with the others. But from this I shall not pretend even to give my Guesses, nor assert that they must be understood *Senatus Consulto*, as is commonly understood by S. C. One thing I may however venture to say, that the Form and Beauty of those Letters indicate them engraven in an Age when Arts flourish'd, and not in latter times. I don't speak of that so foolishly falsify'd Inscription, which makes our Amphitheatre the work of *Flaminius* a Consul, and which *Caroto* and *Leandro Alberti* publish'd, as if still existing at *Lucca*, a place where it never had been. And the truth is, in the several Books where the Imposture has appeared, it has been but very indifferently received by the Learned.

Hadrian's peculiar Custom of erecting Fabricks out of *Rome*, might incline us to have an eye on him as the Builder; but that Epistle of *Pliny* the Younger, lately quoted, confirms us in the Belief, that our Amphitheatre was before that Emperor's time; yet as we cannot well suppose it anterior to that of *Titus*, the whole brings us very near the true time of its Erection.

The foresaid Letter of *Pliny*, who is believed to have died in the latter part of *Trajan's* Reign, gives us to understand, that by
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154 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the Liberality of a certain great Man, call'd *Maximus*, a solemn Amphitheatrical Shew was at that time celebrated in *Verona*: this he did both by way of Honour to the Memory of his deceased Spouse, a Native of that Country, and also to gratify the People of *Verona*, by whom he was lov'd and esteem'd, as indeed they were by him, as *Pliny* informs us. Nay, the same *Pliny*, as he was a *Veronese* by Adoption, when he speaks of the Inhabitants there, he calls them, ¹² *our own People of Verona*.

A vast number of Panthers were prepared for the forementioned Shew, tho' because of a Storm which happen'd at Sea in their Passage, they arriv'd not from *Africa* in time. Combats of so many, and so different kinds of Beasts, indicate as if there were fix'd *Arenæ* in *Italy* at that time. In the Shews of *Curio*, in those also of the *Fidentines*, of *Cecinna* and *Valens*, mention'd by *Pliny* and *Tacitus*, all which were exhibited in Amphitheatres of Wood; we have accounts, that in these Shews there were Gladiators, but no Wild-Beasts. 'Tis therefore not incongruous to suppose this Pile erected in the time of *Domitian* and *Nerva*, or the latest time we can think of, to have been in the first years of *Trajan*, and to believe that, without delaying further, by the said Building they emu-

¹² *Gladiatorum Munus Veronenſibus, noſtris, &c.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 153

lated that of *Rome*, which great Example they had to copy from.

'Tis commonly believed, that this Work was carried on at the Expence of some Emperor or *Roman* Governor: But if such a magnificent Amphitheatre had been erected by any Emperor, 'tis not to be imagined the Writers of their Lives would have neglected to have mentioned it. *Suetonius* was not silent about the Walls and Temples in ¹³ *Syracuse*, repaired by *Caligula*; and of the Royal Palace of *Polycrates*, and the Temple of *Apollo*, which that Emperor had a mind to replace in *Miletus* and *Samos*. Nor did *Lampridius* neglect to speak of the *Basilica* in *Nimes*, or of the Temple and Altar made by *Hadrian* in *Athens*. Whatever Emperor he was who may have erected so noble a Fabrick, he would not, according to the usage of those Times, have neglected the Honour of its Dedication, nor have Writers omitted to speak thereof, since *Suetonius* does of the Temple at ¹⁴ *Nola*, and the Capitol dedicated by *Tiberius* in *Capua*. Neither can we imagine our Amphitheatre the Work of a Governor, since there were no Governors at that time in *Italy*, that Country having not been then reduced to the form of a Province, for every City governed it self; so it is most likely that the Republick and People of *Verona* were the

¹³ *Cap.* 21. ¹⁴ *Cap.* 40.

156 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

sole Undertakers of this Work ; and in the Sequel we shall shew, that a certain *Veronese* Citizen built part of the *Portico*, which was join'd. to the Place where the Gladiatory Games were exhibited ; and for which, he desired to have the Approbation of the People, and not of any other. So does the Inscription already mentioned indicate, that the Amphitheatre of *Capua* was erected by the Colony there : Such great Works could the Alliance, and the Participations of the Honours of *Rome*, render other Cities capable of performing ! The Expence of such Works was much lessened, by the great number of Slaves employed therein ; and likewise upon account of the plenty of Marble in the Neighbourhood of our City ; and indeed, if we could come at the desired Inscription relating to this Fabrick, those who were the Superintendents, or who presided at its Erection, would, I doubt not, be known.

I would, above all, if I could, do due justice to the Name of the Architect of this stately Pile, but we just know as much about ours, as we do of the Amphitheatre of *Rome*. One thing I know for certain, that we should not be ignorant about the Architect of either of these superb Edifices, had they existed when *Pliny* published his great Work. An old Tradition makes *Vitruvius* a *Veronese*, but this we shall mention on
another

Of AMPHITHEATRES 157

other Occasion. That *Vitruvius Cerdo*, another famous Architect, was of *Verona*, very probable; and this we conjecture by the Remains of an Arch which we have of his Workmanship; and indeed, whether he built our Amphitheatre or not, I shall neither deny nor affirm. The *Roman* Amphitheatre was situated in the Middle of the City, ours on the Outside of the Walls, though very near them, and not far from a Gate; and so were the others in the *Colonies*, where the antient Space, within the Walls, were but narrow, and the Concourse of people so great, they could not admit of such a Vacancy in those Days, within their Cities, as was requisite for a Pile of such great Dimensions as an Amphitheatre.

In digging over against the Gate, which in antient Times was the principal and most frequented of any, the Foundation of a large Wall was discovered, made partly of the Stones of the Amphitheatre, with pieces of Pillars, which humour the curved Figure of that Building, and which seem to have surrounded it in the part where the Slope was. We can believe this to be nothing else, but that in former times they intended to have surrounded the Amphitheatre, from the Place where the first Wall was built, to that of the second, in such a manner as to comprise it within the City, that so it might not be exposed, or possession taken of it by the
Enemy;

158 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

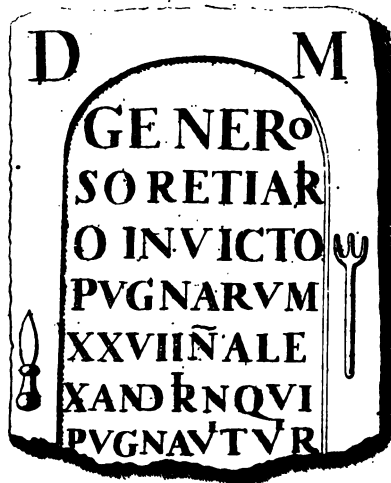
Enemy; yet we must not imagine, that this happened at the repairing of the Walls by *Gallienus*, because the Thickness of them was very much less than the others; and likewise because the Foundation of those of *Gallienus* goes cross-wise, and straitens the chief Avenue to the Amphitheatre: from whence we may make a probable Conjecture, that the latter were made after the ancient Custom of Amphitheatrical Shews had been laid aside.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Inscriptions relating to our Amphitheatre.

THE People of *Verona* made frequent use of the Amphitheatre, of which, in its due place, a considerable Hint will be given from a Stone made hollow by the Ropes of the *Velarium*: I shall prove it likewise by three famous Stones with Inscriptions as yet remaining and placed by me one after another in the publick Academy. The first relates to one of the Gladiators, called *Retarius*, tho' not very exactly published by *Gru-ter* and others; and indeed none have taken notice of its Singularity, in shewing the Form of the Weapons of those Gladiators.

¹ N.B. The *Velarium* was the Veil or Curtain which covered the Amphitheatre.



Monuments like these are indeed rare, nor do I know, among the very few of this kind, which have been printed, if there be such another; 'tis probable there are none, nor are all those of the same kind to be rely'd upon as genuine.

This Sepulchral Monument is of a Gladiator; whose Name was *Generosus*, of a servile Station, an *Alexandrian* by Birth, and of the *Retiarian* Class. The different kinds and ways of the Gladiators were many, and for the most part distinguished by their Habit, Arms, and different manner of fighting, the variety of which very much contributed to the Diversion and Delight which People in general had at the Shews. But I shall not enter upon a Subject, whereon *Lipsius* has

160 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

has wrote so distinctly; only I say, those kinds of them which are most celebrated by Writers, were the *Secutores* and *Retiarii*, who commonly fought against one another. There was, as we read in *Sariana*, an Inscription in *Verona*, about one of the *Secutores*, who was said to have fought eight times; but as it is now lost and publish'd incorrectly, I shall not take any notice of it here. *Commodus* boasted to be of this Class, and among the first of them, and to have killed a great number of those *Retiarii*. This much we learn from *Lampridius*, but *Salmasius* writing on this head, could not understand well what the *Secutores* were, but only that the *Retiarii* were so called from the * Casting-Net, wherewith they enter'd the Field, and which they threw at their Adversary, to entangle him therein; which when done, they struck them with the Fork or else the Ponyard, with which they were armed. *Lipsius* very well observes, that this Custom took its Origine from that famous Action of *Pittacus*, whose Life † *Laertius* wrote; and *Strabo* says, that the said *Pittacus* being General of the *Mytilenei*, fought in single Combat with the chief Commander of the *Athenians*, like a Fisher with a Net, which he threw over and envelop'd his Adversary, having privately brought it

* *Faculum*.

† *Laer. l. 10.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 161

with him on purpose, after that he wounded him with a Trident and Knife.

Whoever then shall observe particularly how the other Gladiatory Combats represented the Manner which some Nations had in fighting with one another, or that they alluded to some Fact, whether historical or fabulous, will not doubt, but that the Idea of that kind of Gladiators was taken from the forefaid Action of *Pittacus*.

Punishments likewise, as they were inflicted by way of Shew, were usually executed in a scenical manner, taking often the Argument of the Dramatic Representation, from the name of the Malefactor. Even when the Games were performed in the *Forum*, *Strabo* relates, that the *Sicilian* Thief [who styled himself *the Son of Ætna*] was made use of by way of an Interlude to the Spectators: For, after he had been placed upon a Machine representing Mount *Ætna*, it was so contrived as to tumble down all of a sudden, whereby the Criminal fell precipitantly among the Dens of the Wild-Beasts, which appear'd as if these Animals had been bred in the Mountain, and there was he tore in pieces. Representations of *Orpheus* and *Lauræolus*, *Dedalus* and *Leander*, mention'd by *Martial*, were likewise kept up in the Amphitheatre: These Allusions of the Ancients in the Games, were like to what they had in their mechanical Works; where, for

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162 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the most part, their very Utensils and common Instruments, were made to represent some ancient Figure. As for the Changes which they had in their Scenes, they were necessary in their publick Shews, because they lasted the whole day. Some Gladiators there were who fought on horseback, of these we shall treat in another place; others in Chariots, call'd *Essedarii*, which either imitated the ancient *Orientals* or the *Britons*; and that such was the Custom of these People, we learn from ⁴ *Cæsar*. However, the Satyrist joking, spoke in the form of ⁵ Prophecy, to the Man who should make any foreign King a Captive in War, That the King *Arviragus* should fall before him from a *British* Chariot. If we rely on what ⁶ *Jornandes* asserts, the word *Essedus* was entirely *British*, but we find it several times mentioned by *Cicero*. ⁷ *Junius Philargyrus* on the other hand said, a certain kind of Vehicle wherein the *Gauls* fought, was call'd *Essedus*. ⁸ *Cæsar* caused Boys to fight at the Games in Chariots. I shall not mention here the Woods, Caverns and Ships, which were sometimes shown in the Amphitheatres; nor shall I speak of the Luxury and Pomp used therein: Nay, ⁹ *St. Ambrose* in the

⁴ *Bell. Gal. lib. 14.*

⁵ *Juv. Sat. 4. aut de remone Britanno.*

⁶ *Jorn. 5. 2. quas more vulgari Essedos vocant.*

⁷ *Ad Geor. l. 3.* ⁸ *Dio. l. 43.* ⁹ *De off. l. 4. c. 21.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 163

fourth Age, accused them for Prodigality in squandering away their Patrimony in Shews; and even towards the end of the fifth Century, the Consul *Turtius Asterius* [in the Epigram he wrote on *Virgilius Mediceus*, publish'd by Cardinal *Noris* in the *Cenotaphia* of *Pisa*] asserts, that great Riches were consumed in their Games, and confesses, ¹⁰ that he had sacrificed his own Wealth to the Huzza's of the People.

But to return to the *Retiarii*; they not only fought with the *Secutores*, but very often with the *Mirmillones*, who were arm'd after the manner of the *Gauls*, and had the Figure of a Fish on their Helmet, as we learn from ¹¹ *Festus*; so that it squared very well to have it catch'd in the Net. The Action of a *Retiarius's* pulling his Adversary towards him, with his Head entangled in the Net, is seen represented on a Medal of *Gordianus Pius*, illustrated by the Senator *Bonarotti*. When they threw the Net without Success, the *Retiarii* began then to handle their Trident. That *Ermetes*, mentioned by ¹² *Martial*, appeared very terrible when he had the Trident in his hand. *Prudentius* calls it a Spear with different Points, and says, that they struck at the Face of the Adver-

¹⁰ P. 444. in quæstum fama Censûs Jactura cucurrit.

¹¹ *Juv. Sat. 8.* — Mover ecce tridentem

*Postquam vibrata pendente retia dextra
Nequicquam effudit.*

¹² L. 1. 25.

164 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

fary, which was covered with the Vizor of the Helmet; nor is it believed that they trifled with such Weapons, for on a certain occasion five *Retiarii* being worsted by the like number of *Secutores*, and on the point of being pierced through by the latter, one of them having laid hold on his Trident, slew every one of those who till then had conquered; at the Fierceness of which Fact, even ¹³ *Caligula* himself, is said to have been grieved.

Their Habit was the Tunica, whence *Suetonius* calls them here *Tunicati*, and the Fork or Trident of *Graccus*, with the Tunica upon him, is mentioned by ¹⁴ *Juvenal*.

Those Gladiators were so much in use every where, that *Arnobius*, when he saw the Representation of a *Neptune*, it always put him in mind of a Gladiator. But *Pittacus*, besides a Trident, had also a short Sword or Ponyard along with him, as ¹⁵ *Strabo* relates; for which reason, the *Retiarii* used it also: which Circumstance, tho' doubted of by some, is confirm'd by our Stone, where the Form of both those kinds of Weapons is seen. This Sword, or Pocket Dagger, very well shews, that they are not of that sort which ¹⁶ *Marcus Aurelius* desir'd might be used by the Gladiators, namely, without a Point, in order to hinder their butchering one another; but rather of those, of which

¹³ *Suet. Cal. cap. 30. deslevisit Edicto.*

¹⁴ *Sat. 2.*

¹⁵ *Str. l. 13. Τῇ τριαιῇ καὶ τῷ ξίφιδι.*

¹⁶ *Dio. c. Xiph.*
the

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 165

the Historian ſpeaks in the Life of ¹⁷ *Nerva*, as does likewise ¹⁸ *Victor*, where Examination was made before they fought, to ſee if they were ſufficiently ſharpned.

¹⁹ *Tertullian* mentions another kind of theſe Weapons, which he calls *Spongia*; and when ²⁰ *Livy* mentions the Armour of the *Samnites*, which covered their Breaſt, he likewise calls it *Spongia*; 'tis probable that it was a mailed Breaſt-plate of Iron, which has ſome Reſemblance of a Sponge: But the Paſſage in *Tertullian* indicates, that ſome offensive, not deſenſive Weapon, of the *Retiarii*, was ſo called; for he ſays, “*That he who ſtands looking on the Bitings of the Bears and the Spunges of the Retiarii, might well think on Mercy.*” I read *moneri* in this Paſſage, not *moveri*, as 'tis printed, and as ²¹ *Lipsius* cites it, becauſe by the latter it is not Senſe. Now, a Breaſt-plate would not be ſo well oppoſed to Pity, nor would it well agree with the biting of the Bears: Beſides, the *Retiarii* fought in their Tunica, and without Armour, as has been ſaid; and without hiding their Forehead under their Helmet, as we read in ²² *Juvenal*: Therefore 'tis probable, that that Name was either given to the Net or the Trident, or the Knife.

¹⁷ *Idem.* in oſſia &c.

¹⁸ *Vit.* in. T.

¹⁹ *De Spect.* cap. 2. 5.

²⁰ *Lib. 9.* *Spongia pectori integumentum.*

²¹ *Sat. Ser. l. 1. c. 3.*

²² *Sat. 8.*

166 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

It might, by a certain kind of Resemblance, have been given to the Net; and perhaps to the short Sword, because its Handle or Shaft was perforated and wrought in some way like a Sponge. Some are inclin'd to believe this, by that Motto of *Augustus*, mention'd by ²³ *Suetonius*, "*That his Ajax was permitted to fall upon his Sponge.*" This was was a Tragedy begun by that Emperor, which not succeeding to his mind, he destroy'd and cancell'd, for which use the *Spongia* serv'd among the Ancients. But this would have been but a very poor kind of a Jest in *Augustus*, if we understand it simply, as *Casaubon* and all the others have it, and if that word had not a double meaning; there being no Affinity between *Ajax* the Hero and an Instrument for effacing, and by which, that Saying might acquire some Grace. I think we may infer with certainty, that some Weapon or other with a Point, had the Name of *Spongia* given it; by which we may understand, that the Tragedy had such an ending as *Ajax* himself, who was destroy'd by falling upon a Sword. But to finish what we have to say on the subject of our Gladiator, he having fought twenty-seven times, shews the frequency of those Games in *Verona*; and 'tis probable he resided there, and was dedicated to that Amphitheatre 3

²³ Cap. 26. *Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 167

tho' I cannot deny, but that he might have fought as many as that, in one day.

This Stone might have afforded us some other curious and rare Discovery, had it not been broke off; for it appears, that towards the end, it began [where *Gruter* very wrongly put *VI. R*] to make mention of some occasion or other, on which the Gladiator had fought courageously.

To find a genuine Monument of Antiquity relating to Huntings exhibited out of *Rome*, is much more rare than any about Gladiators. We have, a little before this, seen a fine Testimony thereof in *Pliny* the Younger, with regard to our Amphitheatre. There is the remembrance of another Hunting remaining in the following Inscription, which is engraved in very fine Letters, upon a great Basis of red Marble of our Country, the breadth of which is greater than its height. The same words are seen on both sides, which shews that in ancient times it had been set up in a place which fronted two Ways,

NOMINE
Q. DOMITII · ALPINI
LICINA · MATER
SIGNUM · DIANAE · ET · VENA
TIONEM
ET · SALIENTES. T. F. I.

168 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

This good Woman, following the Instinct of her own Piety, left it [according to the fantastical Religion of those times] in her Will, that they should celebrate a Hunting of Wild-Beasts. Besides this, she order'd a Statue of *Diana* to be made. To *Diana*, the Governess of all kinds of Hunting, were such Shews often consecrated, but not Amphitheatres, as some believe. In what Situation that Statue stood, cannot be well guessed, yet surely not in the middle of the Amphitheatre, as others have imagin'd. Besides, this Lady order'd that *Salientes* should be made: No where else have we mention of these *Salientes*, as relating to an Amphitheatre. This word is generally understood for Pipes and Conduits for conveying Water; yet here we may also suspect, that it means those hidden Channels or Pipes, by which with wonderful Artifice [as it is twice mention'd by * *Seneca*] they caus'd odoriferous Liquor to spring up from the bottom to the top of the Amphitheatre, which then jetted and spread itself in the Air, like a very small Shower of Rain. Those Effusions were call'd *Sparsiones*; and it appears by the other * *Seneca*, in the Controversies, that there were some, who talking rhetorically, call'd them, *Odoriferous Showers*.

* *Nat. Qu. l. 2. c. 9. Epist. 90.* * *Lib. 5.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 169

One may gather from this place, that such Channels were commonly understood by the Name of *Siphones*: Hence it is, that in our Stone I understand by the Word *Salientes*, rather what we now call Fountains, which were extremely requisite to be near the Amphitheatre; and such is that *Meta* believed to have been, which we see on Medals, close by the *Coliseo*. And indeed I am of Opinion, from that *Latin* Word, that of *Surgente* has been introduc'd into our Language, tho' it is used in a meaning somewhat different; and, I think, I understand that Word as meaning Fountain, even in Writers: particularly in ²⁵ *Cicero*, who mentions the Fish-Ponds, and the *Salientes*; and ²⁶ *Pliny*, where he says, that *Agrippa* made a great number of Lakes for the convenience of the Publick, and a *Hundred and five Salientes*: and also in ²⁷ *Frontinus*, where he confirms, that *Agrippa* furnished the City with the *Waters Salientes*: and when he remarks whence they took the Waters; namely, that they were supplied by the publick *Waters Salientes*: and ²⁸ *Ulpianus*, where he names the Cocks of the Cistern, which were fixed to the *Salientes*.

Of all these things our *Licinia* [whom we must believe to have been a Lady of note, since she was able to defray the Charge of

²⁵ *Fam. l. 3. 17.* ²⁶ *L. 36. c. 15.* ²⁷ *De Aquad. art. 10.*
²⁸ *Lib. 15. de AEd. Emp.*

170 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

an Amphitheatrical Hunting] ordered they should be exhibited in honour of her Son, and the Game celebrated in his Name, as if he had been at the expence thereof. So we find in ²⁹ *Dio*, that *Augustus* exhibited Games in the Name of his Sons, and of his Nephews also; as we learn from the ³⁰ *Lapis Ancyranus*. We read also in ³¹ *Tacitus*, that *Drusus* in his own Name, and that of his Brother *Germanicus*, celebrated Games.

But the daily and continued use of such Shews in *Verona*, is much more confirmed by the third Inscription, which gives us to understand, that in that Place there was a *Ludus*, as the *Latins* named it; that is, a Seminary or School, if we may so call it, of those who were trained up for the Amphitheatre. This is the Meaning of the Word used in Inscriptions, and in this sense ³² *Fabretti* says, it was understood in several Laws, which speak of condemning People *ad Ludum*; but in them we must understand it of the Shews, not of the Gladiators only, as ³³ *Gotofredus* explains, but indeed more particularly of that of Beasts. Several of such Games, in *Rome*, are mentioned on Inscriptions, and by *Publius Victor*; and it is very rare to find them spoke of any where out of *Rome*. In *Capua* they are found, and in *Ravenna*, as we have

²⁹ L. 54. Τῶν υἱῶν παίδων ὀνόματι. ³⁰ Grut. p. 232. *Me nomine, aut filiorum meorum, & nepotum.* ³¹ An. l. 1.

³² Insc. p. 298. ³³ C. Th. ad l. 8. de Pæn.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 171

it in *Cæsar* and *Strabo*; and the former had a Nursery of those Gladiators, in both these Cities. A great number of them even in the time of ³⁴ *Didius Julianus*, lived in *Capua*, because it was furnished with a large Amphitheatre: but that which is most observable in our Inscription, is the hint that there were many of those *Ludi* in *Verona*, since that is distinguished, of which mention is made by the Name of *Ludus Publicus*. But behold the Stone is deficient in its very Beginning.

 LVCIL · IVSTINVS
 EQVO PVBLICO
 HONORIB. OMNIB.
 IN MVNICIPIO · FVNCTVS
 IDEM IN PORTICV. QVAE
 DVGIT · AT · LVDVM · PVBLICVM,
 COLVMN. IIII. CVM SVPERFC^I
 IE · STATVRA · PICTVRA
 VOLENTE. POPVLO. DEDIT.

At the Back of the same Inscription:

ΩΠΑ
 ΚΑΙ
 ΤΥΚΗ

This Inscription in *Gruter* and others, is, according to custom, very inaccurately taken.

³⁴ *Vid. Spart.*

The

172 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

The counterdistinguished Letters are wanting in the Stone, and I have supplied them ; but in the fifth Line, where, in all printed Works the Word PARTEM is put in, the Stone has room but for two Letters, so that it could not have expressed any thing else but ITEM which Method is seen in others, and perhaps it was wrote for IDEM, as is often observed in the popular way of pronouncing, which varied between those two : so that here AT is made for AD. Hence *Lucilius Justinus*, after having, in that City, performed the Function of Magistracy, in all its Degrees, with consent of the People, made four Arches in the *Portico*, which led to the *Ludus Publicus* ; where also Pillars were built and covered, paved and painted. By the word Superficies, the Writers of the Civil Law understand all that is above ground. The two *Greek* Words on the Back of the Stone, I take for that proverbial Saying, used even in our Language : Time and Fortune *εὐκαιρίας ὥρας*, as we have it in *Philo*, at the End of his Book on the Creation ; however they have translated it *Horas*, tho' it signifies Seasons.

C H A R.

C H A P. . XV.

*An Account of the Amphitheatre of
Verona in the latter Ages.*

WE have already mention'd how long it is since the first Circuit of this Pile began to give way, tho' it is credible, that it received a very fatal Blow, at the time when *Gallienus*, being apprehensive of the Invasions of the barbarous Nations, built the Walls of *Verona* in great haste, since we discover that Stones, which had formerly been in the Amphitheatre, are still to be seen in those Walls; and we may very well believe, that having such Materials so very near at hand, and so easy to be come at, they made great use of them on that occasion. I once imagined, that perhaps the Top of the Circuit had been then demolished, and thrown on the ground, on purpose that the *Arena* might not be possessed by the Enemy, so as to overpower and damage the lower parts of the City from above; but I dropt this Opinion, by observing, that the small part of the external Circumference, which still remains, is particularly on that Side, where, in such a Case, they would certainly have begun to destroy. The last account we have of Assemblies in that Amphitheatre, is in the
Acts

174 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Acts of St. *Fermo* and *Rustico*; namely, in the Year of Christ 304. For it is not to be doubted, but the Beginning of their Martyrdom happened within the *Arena*; since, the Day before, the Governor invited the People to the Shew, where accordingly they all¹ came. Thither was our fourth Bishop, S. *Proculus*, who desired Martyrdom, led, tho' *Anolinus* chose not to commit his Cruelties on him.

The Gladiatory Shews being a little after that abolished, contributed surely not a little to the Ruin of the Amphitheatres; for as the chief Use of those Buildings ceased, they were not at pains to repair them, from time to time, as was necessary for their Preservation. But I think the Amphitheatre received besides, a much more sensible Blow, when in order to comprehend it within that part of the City which remain'd on the Outside of the ancient Enclosure, they built another more ample than the former, which must have happened in the Beginning of the sixth Age; it being proved by History, that the said Enclosure was the Work of *Theodoric*. 'Tis true, that Wall was made of other kinds of Materials; namely, small Pieces of soft Stones, squared in a clumsy manner, as may be seen in several Places: But for all that, one of its Towers, a great part of which still remains, makes us be-

¹ *Convenerat omnis multitudo Populi ad Spectaculum.*

lieve,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 175

lieve, that in the others [which were of a different and strong kind of Structure from the Wall it self] several Stones of the Amphitheatre were made use of in building them. We see that Tower comprehended within the Walls of the old Castle, near the Arch *de Gavii*, not being built at the same time with the Castle, as is believed, but only augmented in the higher part thereof, which is made of Brick.

In the lower part, built of ancient Stone, which before had been used, the greatest of them were of the first Enclosure of the Amphitheatre; and among these we find a piece of an Architrave, which had belonged to the third Story; nor is there room to doubt, but the Tower was made out of the second Enclosure, since, between the foresaid Stones, and the Plaister laid above them by the *Scafigers*, one part is likewise seen of the usual Materials and Workmanship, with which the whole Wall of *Theodorick* was made; nay, entering the Castle, we may see how it continues within that Wall, and proceeds, interrupted now and then, even to the River by which it was bounded.

After the Times of the *Romans*, the first mention we find of our *Arena*, is in the Rhime composed while King *Pippin* resided in that City; published lately by me in my History of *Diploma's*, reduced to its true Form and Reading. In it is contained a Description

176 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

scription of *Verona*; the Author of which, after he has spoke of the Walls, and the Towers of its Enclosure, before any other thing, names the *Arena*, and says thus:

*Habet altum Labyrinthum, magnum per circuitum,
In quo nescius egressus, nunquam valet Egredi,
Nisi cum Igne lucernæ, vel cum filii glomere.*

In several Manuscripts, tho' of small antiquity, and still less value, I have found a Work of our Archdeacon *Pacificus* cited, who died *Anno* 846. This they hint to have been a kind of Geographical Dictionary, in which the *Arena* of *Verona* was mentioned, by the Name of *Labyrinth*; but a more sure account of it we have in *Raterius*, our famous Bishop, in the tenth Age. He, in the little Work, intitled * *Qualitatis Conjectura*, speaking of some Revolutions which happened in the City, mentions a Palace kept by way of a Castle, and another too called *Cortalta*, which served for the like use; and mentions the *Circus*, by the Name *Arena*, in which a certain Count † kept garrison for his own Security. The Custom in the lower Ages, of making use of the

* *V. Dacher Spic. t. 2.* † *Ipse in circum quod arena dicitur ob custodiam mansitares.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 177

ancient Edifices as places of Defence, is confirmed by many Evidences and Writers; and indeed not Amphitheatres only, like that of *Capua* and *Nimes*, but *Therma* and Temples had the like use made of them; as may be seen in the Life of *Innocent III.* nay, *Hadrian's* burying Place is, till this very day, a Castle.

We must not omit here remarking, that which confirms what was shewn in the ninth Chapter, *viz.* that in the lower Ages the Names of the *Roman* Edifices for Games, were confounded one with another, and used after a strange manner. Our Rhiming Poet call'd the Amphitheatre a Labyrinth; for such did he imagine the many Windings and Turnings, the various Stairs, the circular Steps, and the internal Galleries, resembled. So likewise in the time of the *Romans*, the subterraneous Monument of the *Chiusi* [which was a good Sample of the *Tuscan* Magnificence] was, perhaps for the same reason, call'd a Labyrinth. The Theatre of *Verona* went by the Name of Circle, and *Semicircle*; I mean that situated on the *Colline* or small rising Ground, according to the famous Rescript of *Beringarius*, which may be seen in *Panvinus*, and who permitted the public Edifices to be thrown down when they threatned Danger to others. On the other hand, the Amphitheatre was call'd Theatre in a certain Print, to which I shall very soon refer. In another Record, which, in treating about that of *Pola*, I shall produce,

N

178 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

duce, therein will be shewn, that even Palaces were call'd by the Name of Theatre and Temple. However, the Name *Arena* is well known in the said Passage of *Raterius*, and was always retain'd among our People and the *Romans* too, from whom it was even handed down to us. With regard to the ancient Derivations, there is still the word *Covoli*, which, in the *Veronese* Dialect, denotes covered Places, and the interior parts of the Amphitheatre. *Cubile*, according to *Vitruvius*, signifies those Places where Stones or Wood rest or are supported, and upon those Vaults were the Steps laid. *Arcovalos* and *Arcovolitos* [whence, in the vulgar *Italian* is the word *Archivolti*, as *Volta* a Vault is from *Voluta*] this we have in the Testament or Last-Will of *Giovanni Veronese*, Bishop of *Pavia*, Anno 922, and publish'd by *Ughelli*, which signifies, the Arcades or Arches, and Vaults of the Theatre, in which the foresaid Person caused the Oratory of St. *Syrus* to be made. *Saraina* cited a passage in the Itinerary of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, in which the Name Labyrinth is given to the *Arena*; and 'tis said, that the Infide was surrounded with *Cubali* and Caves: it is likewise found written * *Cubatis*, but that Passage, notwithstanding it is made use of and adopted even by *Lipsius* and *Bulinger*, is however of small Authority, since of that Itinerary we find no

* *Cubalis* & *Antris multisformiter redimitus*.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 179

certain Account. In the Collection of Inscriptions, which has the Appearance of an Itinerary, as made by *Cyriacus*, when he travelled into several parts of the World, and printed at *Rome*, no mention is made of *Verona*; and yet part of those Words is cited by *Panvinus*, as from an uncertain *Chronica*, and not at all of *Cyriacus*.

Some use or other may probably have been made of the *Arena*, even in the middle Ages, and perhaps for Shews, altogether unknown to us. In foolish Fables and imaginary Records, we have an account of Battles fought by *Lancellotto da Lago*, and other romantic Heroes; notwithstanding all this, it is certain, that the Amphitheatre served for the Field of judicial Duels, that is, Combats appointed by Judges in those Ages, when, according to the Laws of the *Longobards*, and the Institutions of the northerly Nations, many Differences were solely decided by Duels. That the like Custom continued longer in *Verona* than in any other place, we may well suppose on account of the Convenience of the Amphitheatre, which excited People thereto. I have seen myself in several Records, Evidences of this, tho' they are not proper to be mention'd in this place. In the time of *Innocent III.* a personal Challenge, to fight by way of Duel, was sent by the Governor of the place, to a certain Clergy.

³ *Ant. ver. f. 3. c. 2.*

180 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

man who had kill'd an Archpriest, as is seen in an Epistle of that Pope to our Bishop and Cardinal *Adelardo*, whose Name was not understood by ⁶ *Baluzio*, as having been only mark'd with an initial Letter. But that there was another kind of Trial in an Age still nearer our own Times, appears evident in a long and curious Roll that I keep in my domestick Treasury of Monuments, wrote in the Age 1300: in it is contain'd an account of the Trial of Judgement regarding certain Persons, surnamed *Visconti*, in the Year 1263, by way of Examination and Witnesses, who pretended that they and their Forefathers had, for more than a hundred Years, been in possession of the Toll or Tax of the Gates of *St. Stephano* and ⁷ *Vescovo*, and of all Ingrefs by Land or Water from that Part; *and also in possession of the* ⁸ *Entrance to, and Honour of the Arena, on occasion of Combats judged and performed in the same Arena.* Some of the Witnesses affirm, that for every judicial Combat fought in the Theatre, they always had receiv'd *twenty-five Livres of Veronese Money*, with an Obligation to keep the place secure: And they affirm, ⁹ *that, in order to guard the*

⁶ Lib. 1. ep. 485.

⁷ Introitum, & Honorem.

⁸ *Arena occasione pugarum judicatorum, qua sunt in ipso Arena.*

⁹ *Ite ad Theatrum pro custodienda battaiam cum hominibus armatis.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 181

Combatants, they had seen them several times, go to the Theatre with armed Men.

From this singular Record we learn, that our Amphitheatre served a long time as a free Field for Duels judicially decreed: And it is credible, that because of the Finess and Security of the Place, People from other Parts came thither; by which the Community of the City receiv'd a Tribute, from those to whom it was farmed out.

But one thing cannot be deny'd as peculiarly in favour of the People of *Verona*, and not common to any other Citizens whatever: The History of our Amphitheatre terminates with its Restorations, having been always repaired without ever grudging the Money laid out therein, even till our own times. The other Amphitheatres have not been so fortunate in this respect, not even that of *Rome*, and would to God it had but had the same goodLuck to have escap'd being demolish'd! as that of *Pola* had, as we shall shew in another place. However, publick Decrees, made for restoring and keeping up the Fabrics of Amphitheatres, I think, can be shewn no where else, but in *Verona*, and this more anciently than what can be well imagined. A most singular Code is preserved among the Archives belonging to our canonical Chapter, wrote in the Year 1228, in which is contain'd the *Veronese* Statute, or

182 Of AMPHITHEATRES

the Charge enforced by the Community then on whoever should be invested with the Office of *Podestà* or Governor, and by him promised and sworn to; which paved the way to the Compilation of those Statutes. In this Code, at the Paragraph which, they were number'd, is the 162^d, we find that the Governor promised, *in reparatione & refectione Arenæ, de communis expensam in meo regimine, infra sex menses ab initio mei regiminis, quingentas libras ita tamen quod hoc possit immutari voluntate Consilii, vel Arengi.* This admirable Record and the Contents of that Paragraph I owe to Mr. *Chancellor Campagnola*, who transcrib'd it for me, and who, with very great Judgment and incredible Diligence has beautify'd and put that same Repository in order. The Sum of 500 Livres was very considerable in those days, and therefore the Desire of the Inhabitants of our City, to find, not small, even at that time, I say, to have that Treasure kept up and preserved.

As the foresaid Book may be called the first Statute, so may also another, which kept in the particular *Museum* of the Provectors of the City, be reckoned the second. It was wrote in different Years, tho' no part thereof is after 1376. It contains the Statutes several times regulated and prescribed under the Government of the *Scaligers*, and

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 183

is divided into six Books. In the end of the first there are the Elections of the People, who confer'd the Government upon them, but afterwards degenerated into a Monarchy. In the fourth Book, Chapter 156, we find they had ordered all the Gates of the *Arena* to be shut, which formerly had been kept open, and in the following manner did they provide for its being guarded and kept in order.

Quum multa maleficia in Theatro sive Arena commissa sint haftenus, & possent committi de cetero, statuimus & ordinamus, quod dictum Theatrum, sive Arena, clausum permaneat, & claves portarum ejus in massaria communis Veronæ, vel apud massarium dicti communis ponantur, & stent; & si quis fregerit portas, vel murum ipsius Theatri per vim, puniatur in xxv libras pro quoque, & quaque vice. Quod denuntiare teneantur & debeant jurati, & custodes noctis quaitarum circumstantium eadem die vel sequenti banum ad voluntatem Domini Potestatis vel curiæ auferendo. Et si quis in eo Theatro fecerit aliquam Turpitudinem; puniatur in 5 solidos pro unoquoque, & qualibet vice—Procuratores communis Veronæ infra 15 dies officii sui teneantur inquirere per covalos habitantes: & si invenerint aliquem habentem cloacam, vel fossam, vel scassam discurrentem in dicto Theatro, vel Arena, &c.

184 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

The third Statute is that which was regulated anew, and printed *Anno* 1475; in it may be seen the forefaid Ordination, repeated with but little Difference, only a Penalty is laid on those who should remove any of the Steps out of their places, or carry off any of the Stones; besides, another curious Law is subjoin'd, which every one may observe in Print. In a Poem wrote by *Panfilo Saffo*, in the Year 1480, I find that the greatest part of the Steps was wanting: The Text is in MS. and in my own Collection, in which is express'd that the *Arena* was *gradibus vacua*. But in the Age 1500 they fell to work to repair it in good earnest, and in the Year 1545. It was indeed an excellent Institution to elect some considerable Citizen or other, from time to time, whose chief Care should be to keep the Amphitheatre in good Order and Repair. Twenty-three Years after, there was a voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants, raised for making the Steps anew, and for putting them in their true Places. In the Year 1579, a Tax was laid on for four Years, for defraying the Charge of *repairing the Amphitheatre*, and a Resolution taken to petition the Government, that a part of the Fines or Amercement, should be applied thereto. Other like Decrees were enacted several times in the Council of Twelve

¹⁰ A certain Order of Magistrates in the State of Venice, consisting of 12, and 50 Senators.

and

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 185

and likewise in that of Fifty, who testify'd on every occasion their Zeal and Care in so commendable and noble a Design. Among the others, in the Year 1606, it was agreed and ordain'd, to increase, for the future, the pecuniary Fines two Sols in the Livre, in the the criminal Causes of the Consulate, in order that the Money arising therefrom, might be applied for the Use of the Amphitheatre, and by means of the Rectors, to petition the Government to confirm that Decree. Soon after the double Guardianship, and the applying to the Reparation of the Amphitheatre was wisely put in use, by creating two Presidents, or Overseers of the *Arena*; which Office [after the many other most worthy Persons who have been in it] is at present, with great Diligence and Zeal, held by the Counts *Gomberto Giusti*, and *Agostino Rambaldi*.

And since at present all the Rows of Steps are replaced and finished from the Bottom to the Top of the Amphitheatre, I don't think it amiss to cast an Eye on the *Vero-nese* Youth, and the flourishing and numerous Nobility of our Country, who have been excited sometimes to make use of this singular and incomparable Field, for giving proof of their martial Genius, and exercising their Valour therein.

To renew sometimes the solemn Exercises at Arms on horseback, which for so many Ages had been laid aside, would surely

be

186 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

be one of the most elegant and superb Entertainments that could, in these days, be seen any where, or upon any occasion whatever; such without doubt would be our Amphitheatre, in seeing it full from the Bottom to the Top all round with Spectators. An Appearance like this surpasses Imagination, and would become the only proof, that we still participate of the ancient Ideas, and of the *Roman* Grandeur in Shews; and certainly a better Convenience than this could not be desired, or a greater Excitement for celebrating, from time to time, Diversions, in which Valour has a share, and which, by deviating from the miserable Usage of our own Times, which chiefly seems to inspire People with Effeminacy, and such a kind of Softness, as if contriv'd on purpose to debase our already wretched Nation, and make it more and more indolent.

In the last Age I find an Account of two Tournaments, much more solemn than any I have met with; one in the Year 1654, the other in 1622. In this last, the first Premium was gain'd by the Marquis *Alessandro da Monte*, of whom *Orlando Pescetti*, in his *Dialogo dell' Honore*, makes mention, as does *Palladio* in his History of *Friuli*, and *Brissoni* in his History of *Italy*; as a Person who afterwards became a great General, as may also be seen in his Life, published by *Conte Gualdo*: and indeed much more may

be

Of AMPHITHEATRES 187

be seen in many of his own Letters, and in the Letters of Cardinal *Mazarine*, and others, to him: The first of these are preserv'd by those to whom he wrote; but that other Tiltings were likewise perform'd in the last Age, tho' we have no particular Relation thereof published, may be conjectured from that most rare Print in large of the *Arena*, engraven *Anno 1627*, the like of which, till then, had never been seen; a Copy thereof is, by good luck, now abroad in the world. In this Print we see a Tilting delineated from the Life, with a Representation of the whole Appearance, and the Cavaliers in Armour, and the Habits they wore, with the Arms of their Families upon their Shields; together with the two Champions in the Attitude of running on one another with their Lances, but separated by a Bar between them: there likewise are the Rectors represented, sitting on a Bench, with the Judges and the Rewards lying by them. 'Tis credible, that many Tournaments were made in ancient Times. *Saraina*, in his History, mentions one in the Year 1222.

The Command of Friends, and the earnest Desire of many others, have at last prevail'd with me to mention here also the Tilting with Lances and the Course at the Ring, which, with as suitable a Preparation as the Times would allow, was perform'd in the *Arena*, the 20th of *November*, in the Year 1716, on the Occasion of the Arrival of the illustrious Prince,

188 Of AMPHETHEATRES.

Prince, the present Elector of *Bavaria*, in *Verona*. The Rain, which unfortunately lasted all that Day, tho' but a small one neither hindred the Performance, nor deprived many of the Spectators from seeing it. The Part of the Master of the Field was performed by the Count *Coza Cozi* a Gentleman who has had but few Equal in this noble Art, and been honoured and sought after by several Princes. The Judge appointed at this Solemnity were the following; namely, the Marquis *Ottaviano Spolverini*, and the Count *Gomberto Giusti* the Marquis *Gio Carlo Malaspina*, and the Count *Ricciardo San Bonifacio*.

The Actors or Combatants were,

Count *Giugno Pompei*,

Count *Alberto Pompei*.

The Marquis *Scipio Maffei*.

Count *Ascanio Maffei*.

Count *Alessandro Sanbastiani*.

Count *Emilio Emilii*, Knight of *Malta*.

Count *Rambaldo Rambaldi*.

Count *Francesco Rambaldi*.

The Seconds were as follows,

Count *Gerolamo Allegri*.

Count *Gerolamo Rambaldi*,

Count *Gerolamo Pompei*.

Signo

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 189

Signor *Giacomo Bra.*

Count *Gaetano Bevilacqua.*

The Marquis *Gerolamo Spolverini.*

Marquis *Antonio Sagramoso.*

Signor *Bertoldo Pellegrini.*

End of the First Book.



OF



OF THE
AMPHITHEATRES;

Particularly that of

V E R O N A.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Prints which hitherto have
been made of the Amphitheatre.*



AFTER the Historical Account
given of the Amphitheatre, we
shall proceed to examine the Struc-
ture it self; and indeed it would
afford us but little advantage
[where we treat of an Edifice] to have a
knowledge of the outward Parts thereof, if
we



Of AMPHITHEATRES. 191

understood not its Form, and the Artifice
by which it was built: Nor would the
Prests of Arts, I mean Architecture, for
which we are solely beholden to the Ancients,
give any advantage thereby. I know
very well that my Care herein will at first
be reckoned too great, and my La-
bor useless, since so many Antiquaries and
Architects have wrote already on this Sub-
ject; and besides, the Draughts of the Am-
phitheatres already published, are so ample
and sumptuous, that most People will be of
Opinion, that nothing is left for me but to
repeat what they have said, and copy anew,
as is usual in this present Age. But I am
far from following this Method, that I
in my very Beginning obliged [with the
due Deference I have always used in writ-
ing] to assure the Republick of Letters,
that hitherto little or nothing is known about
Amphitheatres, and the Draughts handed
down, serve, for the most part, only to give
Notion of the Inside of them, and their
essential Parts, quite contrary to what
they are in reality. It appears very odd to
the People, that I have the boldness to say
now and then, that Antiquities have all need
to be repaired or done over again: But per-
haps this short Essay may produce Evidences,
supporting the Assertion; and may I be
permitted to say [without any way departing
from that Humility, within the Bounds of
which,

192 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

which, I ought at any rate to contain in
myself] that as now the fourth Age is going
on; nay, with regard to *Italy*, the fifth
since Literature was revived: it is therefore
high time, that some certain kinds of Study
should be advancing, and an end put to
Authors copying from one another; and to
aim at a Reputation, and a Merit in Books,
which is commonly done now-a-days, not
by a thorough Examination of things, or
by leading People to Truth; but as they are
costly, and come from Places far off: above
all, if they are bulky to the Eye, and are
only valued as they make a gaudy Figure
and become a part of rich Furniture, which
custom in valuing Books has been very fa-
tal to Literature in general.

But to proceed, with regard to Amphithe-
atres entirely of Stone: I am of opinion
that they were not made of a different kind
of Architecture, like the Temples; but so
very uniform, that if we had one entire, we
might by it judge of all the others: but
as we are not so happy, we must search for
a right understanding of them from the dif-
ferent Remains we still have of the Amphi-
theatres of *Rome* and *Verona*, since those
two are the most magnificent, and best pre-
served of any. Of the one we have the ex-
ternal Part remaining, of the other the Entrails
if we may speak so of such Bodies. Might
things have been told us about the Magnifi-
cenc

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 193

cence of that of *Capua*; but that which is asserted by 'one who has celebrated it most, agrees very ill therewith, namely, that its inside was not made of Stone but Brick; be that as it will, what remains is so little, that it cannot afford us any great light therein: and yet we find it intire in most Prints, tho' this, as is usual, is the meer Work of Imagination. It is commonly given out that the Amphitheatre of *Nimes* is exceedingly well preserved, yet those who have accurately examin'd it on the spot, say the contrary; nor indeed, as I have already hinted, can we have any sufficient Evidence, that it was an Amphitheatre. To the *Roman* Amphitheatre then, and to that of *Verona*, we must have recourse, particularly to the latter, since the greatest Difficulty consists in knowing well the Internal Part, and the Windings of the Stairs, and the Passages which gave occasion to those of the Middle Ages to call Amphitheatres *Labyrinths*, with regard to which that of *Rome* affords small light, because those Parts do not subsist. We may conjecture from all this what ground there was for the Assertions of those who have diffusely wrote on Amphitheatres; tho' they never came to study from ours at *Verona*, which alone could have given them Light therein. Such Authors however should have necessarily made it

Montf. Ant. t. 3. pag. 258. Diar. It. c. 22.

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their

196 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

ther with other Weaknesses innumerable, and indeed most wonderful: for example, we read * in it, that *the Theatre of Pompey was burnt in the Time of Philip of Macedon*, and that *behind the Senators sat the fourteen Orders of Knights*: But besides all this, there are Errors in the Architectonic Part, such as we cannot possibly imagine a Professor of that Art could have committed. For *Vitruvius*, teaching by way of Example, to make the Steps on which People sat in the Amphitheatre, not higher than a † *Palmopiede*, in this Book we read that he desired they might be made no more than one *Palm* in height; and that *Palmopiede* signified nothing else: where besides that ridiculous Incongruity, if the Author had not understood Latin, the very Translation by *Daniel Barbaro* has it, “that the Seats or Steps *ought not to be made higher than one Palm, and one Foot* ;” and adds, “*No more than a Foot and six Inches* ;” having well read the whole of that Passage, which ‡ *Lipsius* calls deformed.

We may remark, that none of the Modern Authors or Collectors, have taken any notice of a Book, which is the only one that has mentioned any thing about the Division or Distribution of Amphitheatres; the Title

* Pag. 13. er. 28.

† *Vitr. l. 5. cap. 6. Font. p. 93.*

‡ *Lipsf. Amphit. c. 13.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 195

Twenty sumptuous Plates, engraved by a *Roman* Architect, laying before our Eyes the Coliseum delineated, part by part; nor will they understand what regard this small Treatise can ever deserve, with its shatter'd Figures, when compared with that vast Volume, wherein every thing is shewn perfect. As to what regards that good Man, *Fontana*, the Author, I shall say nothing at present, but that his Genius and Labour were very commendable, by not taking notice of the Defects very common in Books upon that Subject, which treat of Matters foreign to the purpose. He has several good things in his Work, and might have become very useful in illustrating some parts; but the Book printed in his Name was not finished by him, nay remained imperfect; and that which is worse, instead of being revised at *Rome*, or reduced to form by some of his Scholars, the Original was bought by some Ultramontane or another, and so published we know not by whom; nay, more than that, as it appears by the Style in several Places, it was altered and supplied by the hand of a Stranger. For which reason besides the many Errors in transforming Words into one another, the Sense is changed, and the Language such, that in some places it can scarcely be understood; more than that, the Citations are false, and miserably expressed. All these there are, toge-

198 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

guished Care was about the Amphitheatres, having in his Books represented that of *Rome*, *Verona*, and *Pola*, and given the Plans, Views, Sections, Profiles and Parts of them. Besides, *Leon Battista Alberti*, the *Florentine*, as to what regarded the Steps, the Enclosures of the Theatres, [in which parts they are the same with those of the Amphitheatres,] two Hundred and Fifty Years ago spoke much better on that Subject, than what we find usual in modern Volumes. *Desgodetz* was the only Person who did honour to *Serlio*, with regard to Amphitheatres, or other Buildings and Remains of Antiquity. For, notwithstanding he applied himself with the utmost Diligence to mend his Errors, which were, for the most part, in the Proportions, and which, perhaps, proceeded from the Inaccuracy of the printed Draughts made thereof, yet he still followed his Footsteps. Among all the Foreigners I know, that *French Architect*, just now named, deserves, in a most distinguished manner to be praised, for having delineated the things of Antiquity with Judgment and Truth, without rearing up Fabricks of his own Invention, or imposing his Chimæra's upon the World for Realities, and real Pieces of Antiquity. We are likewise very much obliged to him for having given the *Architectonic* Parts of the four Orders of the *Coliseo* in large, and their Proportions with great Exactness.

The

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 199

The Prints of the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, were taken from a Picture, which the Archbishop *Cesare Costa*, [*Baronius's* Master for the Law] caused to be made in his Palace, representing it as they imagined it had been in former times, without having further light therein, but what they had from the two undermost Arches, which are preserv'd till this day.

However, in the Book of '*Les Antiquitez expliquées*, or *Antiquities explain'd*, it is seen with several Gates, in the fourth Story, and which are entirely out of place, and are very differently represented in the Canon *Mazochio's* Book. From the forementioned imaginary Picture, we have the Print of such an Amphitheatre hinted at by *P. Vitali*, a regular Clergyman of *Capua*, in his '*Mathematical Lexicon*. That of *Nimes* was engraven by *Gioanni Poldo*, *Grasser*, and *Lipsius*, and on loose Paper; and in the *Atlas* of the Cities of *France*, printed in the Year 1706, and lastly, in the *Antiquities explain'd*. In those Books it is given out to be the best preserved Amphitheatre of any; but why do they not then represent the Inside thereof, and its other different Parts? On the contrary, they shew it in such a manner, that People can make really but very little of it? *Torello Saraina*, the Historian, and *Giovanni Caroto* the Painter, in *Serlio's* time, undertook to give us Draughts

⁴ Tom. 3. Plate 149. ⁶ In v. Theatrum.

200 Of AMPHITHEATRES

of the *Arena* of *Verona*, nor was their Labour therein contemptible. But in the Year 1560, *Pierro Ligorio* published a new Print thereof, cast off in *Lafrerio's* Rolling-Press, upon loose Paper. In the same Sheet he gave the exterior and interior Uprights, together with the Section and Plan; but in the whole very little regarded Truth, or observed the Measures or Proportions therein: nay, the first Parts he delineated according to his own Fancy. This Draught had, however, a greater run than any of the others, it being usual for fictitious things to meet with more applause than those that are real; as Romances are commonly more admired by some People than true History. This Print, together with all the Representations of Statues in it, was exactly copied by *Lipsius*; and inserted in his Treatise on Amphitheatres out of *Rome*; and afterwards exhibited by the Publishers of the posthumous Works of *Panvinus*, on the Antiquities of *Verona*; in fine, this Draught has hitherto served, and still does for an Original to those who have a mind to satisfy popular Eyes with a view of our Amphitheatre, and of other such Buildings too; since it has been copied in order to represent likewise that of *Autun*.

But *Desgodetz* did not go this way to work, for in the Antiquities out of *Rome*, exhibited by him, he has given only our *Arena* of *Verona* a place in his Book. He

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 201

examin'd it himself on the spot, and accordingly has published four Prints thereof, in which some things are much better represented than in the other Drawings made before his time.

He was, however, not so lucky in understanding the most intricate parts of the Building, nor indeed in comprehending well, what is of the greatest importance, the internal Disposition of the Parts. What regards the exterior and interior Views, is very much to be commended, and much more in large than any other way, is that Print of it published in *Verona*, in the Year 1696, by *Valentino Maseri*, the *intelligent and curious Possessor thereof*, in which what was wrote under it was well dictated, and the additional Ornaments compleatly drawn. The Words were inserted by Doctor *Giuseppe Morando*, a famous Physician; the Drawing made by our own *Lodovico Dorigni*. The Draughts, by which I have endeavour'd in this Treatise to represent the same Amphitheatre, part by part, in its various Views, and internal Structure, are such as have never been till now investigated, and by which that of *Rome*, and of all the other Amphitheatres, can be understood: All these Drawings have been the commendable Labour of Signor *Saverio Avesani*, Citizen of *Verona*, who in the late War with the *Turks*, was in the Station of Engineer, wherein he did not a little signalize himself: the Engraving is done by Signor *Francesco Zucchi*. CHAP.

202 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

CHAP. II.

The entire Measures of the Veronese Arena, and of the Coliseum; with an Account of the exterior Parts thereof.

THE external and internal Form of the Edifice, is oval: The first Measures which I caused to be taken were of the two Axes of the Ellipsis, and of the Line of Contour. The greatest Length then, from the first Arch of Entrance to the other, is 450 *Veronese* Feet, and the greatest Breadth 360; the Length of the Area or Piazza taken within the Walls, which circumscribe it, is 218 Feet 6 Inches, the Breadth 129, the exterior Circumference or first Enclosure, 1290 Feet. The *Veronese* Foot is exactly one Third more than the *Roman* Palm of the Architects.

The *Coliseo*, according to *Fontana's* Assertion, was 564 of our Feet in length, broad 467; the Area 273 long, and 173 broad; the Circumference 1566 Feet.

The fine Print of *Alessandro Specchi* the Architect, engraven in *Rome* in the Year 1703, makes the interior Length 300 Feet, and the Breadth 203; but this Difference arises from *Fontana's* having measured, as he

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 203

he ought to have done, within the Wall of the *Podium*, which at present is buried under ground; and *Specchi*, from the Vestiges of the next Round.

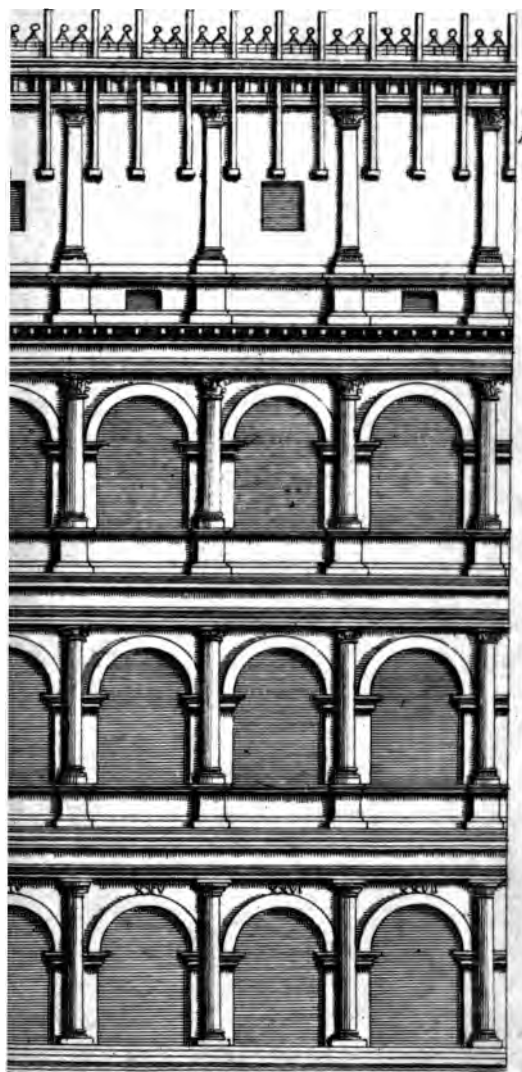
The Height of the *Roman* Amphitheatre, which *Ammianus* said went beyond the reach of human Eyes, amounts to 140 Feet, including the 8, or thereabout, lost by the Rising of the Ground all around it, which in a shameful manner, has been carried thither by Cart-Loads. Above the upper Cornish there was a Course of Stones more than what it is at present, of which some pieces, about three or four Palms in length, as yet remain here and there at the top, and served for the Ornament above that Course, as may be seen by our Drawing thereof: There were likewise three broad, but low Steps, which, at the foot of the Amphitheatre, surrounded it quite, and by which they ascended to the first Entries.

'Tis credible our Arena was built in that manner all around, on purpose that the Pavement of the first Portico might be higher than the Level of the Streets without. The Height remaining at present, is about 80 Feet, including the 6 which are under ground, and also the fourth Order; nor is there any doubt but that such an Order has been, because we see the very Stones above the third, which form'd the first Tyre or

† *Lib. 16. c. 10.*

204 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Belt thereof, if we may so call it, and part of the second, with the beginning of two plain Pillars; so that the Height could not be less than from 110 to 120 Feet. The Steps remaining at present are in number 45, excluding the first, which is under ground, as is likewise that which supported the Openings above, and the small Stairs quite levelled. Twenty-two thousand People can conveniently sit around it, allowing every one a Foot and a half of room. Being now to begin with the first Enclosure or Wall of the Amphitheatre, and as ours is almost quite demolished and lost, and the little part remaining wanting; I therefore thought it necessary to exhibit a View of the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, which, as good luck would have it, has still a part of the external Enclosure exceedingly well preserved, being the most superb Remain of ancient Magnificence extant; as there are four Floors or Stories, so are there as many different Orders of Architecture used; with four Rows of Pillars coming out from the Surface of the Building, *Mezzo-relievo* ways. In the first two Orders the Pilasters project two Thirds outward, in the third about half the Diameter; the highest of all, are flat and square, which, at such a distance, delights the Eye much better, than if it was otherwise. The first Floor or Story, namely, the lowest of all, is of the *Doric* Order, without Pedestals; the



*Plate III.
View & Profile
of the
Coliseum.*

30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140

Roman Palms

206 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

with that *Zone* or Bandage above the Cornish; of which I have already spoke, and more than this, I have caused to be added in my Draught those kinds of Battlements or Pinacles made like very small Pyramids, with Balls upon them; which Ornaments at the Top have been ill left out in the Descriptions of others, since we see them exactly so on all Medals: not only was this graceful in finishing, but necessary for the Security of the great Cornish, and for counterballancing the Out-jet or Projection above.

That the Amphitheatre of *Capua* was likewise built on the Out-side with the same four Orders of Architecture, is commonly asserted; but how can this be affirmed, since no more than two Rows of Arches of the first and lowest Stories are to be seen, and are the only Arches that remain? And since none of the higher parts are preserved, we can scarcely be certain, that there has been four Stories; and we have no Evidence to the contrary, but that the Building might have been continued with the same Order of Architecture upwards, like the Amphitheatres of *Verona*, *Pola* and *Nimes*. There is a Controversy about the two Arches remaining at *Capua*, whether they are *Doric*, as *Sanfelici* imagines, or *Tuscan*, as the Canon *Mazochio* thinks. According to the current Idea People have about the Orders, such a Dispute will appear odd; but in my own Opinion,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 207

Opinion, 'tis a Matter of Indifference, even to those who are most skilled in the Art.

The Arena, however, of *Pola*, was called *Doric* by *Serlio*; by *Palladio*, *Tuscan*. *Daviler*, a *French* Architect, calls that of *Nimes*, *Tuscan*, the others *Doric*. The *Atlas* of the Cities of *France* will have it *Tuscan* below, *Doric* above: The Arch in the *Gavii* of *Verona*, was called Composite by *Serlio*, *Corinthian* by *Daniel Barbaro*. The first Story of the *Coliseo* is said to be *Doric*, however they don't make the Freeze of it plain and smooth: The third Floor or Story is *Corinthian*, but without Carving or Ornament, except in the Capitals: The fourth is Composite, but with *Corinthian* Capitals, and like those of the third. The Pillars above one another do not diminish in Dimension, according to Rule, but are all of a thickness; and the Void of the Arches, the Parts, and Ornaments, and Measures, in the different Stories, have not that Diversity of Proportion which is believed to be essential to different Orders. *Fontana*, besides the View of the *Coliseo*, does not, as was necessary, give the Parts in great, according to their Measures, or exactly delineated. The Reason he assigns is, because such Parts put together, don't satisfy the Eye; having the Members enlarged according to their Distances; but this, I own, was a great
Pre-

208 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Precept to Art. Some have remark'd, that the *Corinthian* Capitals in the *Coliseum*, were not delicately wrought, but methinks it would have been ridiculous to have cut the Foliage or Leaves finely at that height, and in such a Building; as it would be equally ridiculous to follow that Manner in making them smooth in a Hall. As for the Measures or Proportions, and Parts, one would think, when we know the Orders themselves, we consequently know all that is necessary: But it remains to be observ'd, whether the Ancients, in the Rules of the Proportions, and different Members of the Building [as now establish'd by many in the Orders] held them as a perpetual and universal Law, or if, in the same Orders, Measures, and Manners, they differ'd, according to the various Kinds of Buildings or the Judgement of the Architect, or according to the different Circumstances of things. All which must be understood with Moderation and within certain Limitations: For I see that *Vitruvius*, after having treated fully about the Pillars in Temples, when he comes to speak of Theatres, he handles that Subject in a different manner, and says, that the Proportions and Measures ought not to be the same in sacred Edifices, where the whole ought to breathe forth Gravity; but that Gentleness or Slenderness agrees well with Portico's and other such Works.

The

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 209

The more does the Thought of those two notable *French* ² Architects appear ridiculous to me, who made the *Parallel between ancient and modern Architecture*; and say, that as to the *Tuscan* Order, we have nothing more left thereof in Antiquity, by which we may know it, but *Trajan's Pillar*: to which they would have us have recourse, and not to the Amphitheatres of *Verona* and *Pola*, as *Palladio* has done. But, allowing that the said Pillar is of any Order at all, and *Tuscan*, [³ *Fabretti* asserts it to be *Doric* on account of the Flutings which it has at the Top] yet it is a Work so very extraordinary and different from all the others, that no Argument or Rule in the Art can be drawn from it. By such kinds of Ideas, 'tis no wonder that the learned ⁴ Translator of *Vitruvius* thought it out of all Proportion. Of the common *Tuscan* Pillar we read in ⁵ *Pliny*, that its Diameter at the Base is the seventh part of its Height, the *Doric* the sixth; but perhaps the Copyists took away an I from the *Doric*, and added it to the *Tuscan*.

⁶ *Harduin* in this Passage cites *Vitruvius* for confirming it, and where, speaking of the *Tuscan* Order, he seems to say the same;

² *Eccard and Chambray.*

³ *Col. Traj. p. 87.*

⁴ *Perrault. l. 4. c. 7.*

⁵ *Lib. 36. c. 2.*

⁶ *L. 4. c. 7.*

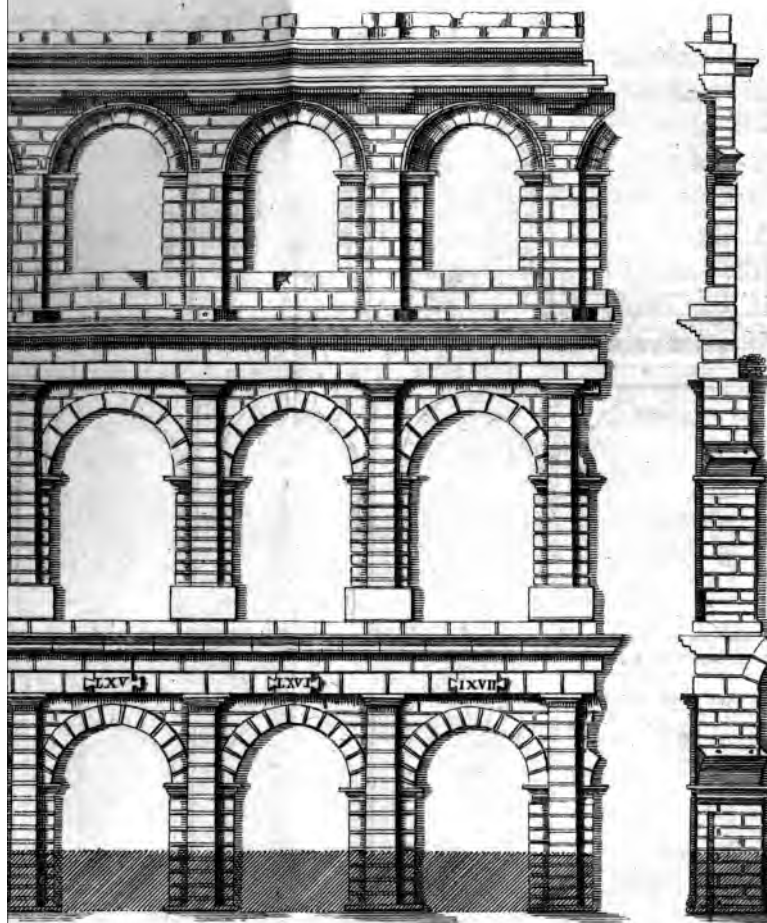
210 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

but in that place he does not treat of it in general. With regard to the *Doric*, in another place he gives us to understand, that in the ⁷ beginning it consisted of six Diameters, but that at last they fix'd it to seven. However *Rusconi*, who seems to me to have understood *Vitruvius* perfectly well, and by the few Words he uses, and the Figures he so nicely adapts, makes others understand him too, says, speaking of his Principles, that leaving, for greater Beauty, the more confined kinds of Models, they made the Height of the *Doric* Pillars of seven Diameters. But the Marquis *Giovanni Poleni* can afford us other Reflections on this Head, worthy of him, whose Friendship I sincerely prize; and if my Entreaties can prevail to persuade him to undertake the Publication or a new Edition of *Vitruvius*, from what he has collected already, he will plainly evince, that that Author has not as yet been wholly shewn to the world in a true Light.

But in proceeding to the first Round or Enclosure of our Arena, you may observe here in the fifth Plate, the Front and Side of that part still subsisting, which cannot be seen to advantage on the spot, because of the Narrowness of the Street in that part. The whole here is taken by Mensuration, and with very much Exactness; and in this Print the Profile is also seen. A slip of Memory made

⁷ Lib. 4. c. 7. *Posteri vero, &c.*

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 Veronese Feet

Half a Veronese Foot divided into Six Inches

2 3 4 5

La Roman Architectonic Palm

Of AMPHITHEATRES: 211

Desgodetz assert, that there were six Arches still remaining of our Amphitheatre. As to that which is wanting at the Top, the Form thereof can be conceived very well from a printed View of the Coliseum; and 'tis certain, that a Row of large Windows were placed in the higher part of Amphitheatres. That of *Rome* was built of *Travertine* Stone, as well in the Circuit or exterior Round, as in all the Pilasters, Arches, Gates, Steps, and interior Stairs. *Travertine* is a hard Marble, dug up in our Country, partly red and white, of the Quarry of *Grezzana*, as most People believe; which Quarry lies about seven Miles from the City. The Work is rustic, but magnificent, and it must have been more laborious to have plained and polished the Stones here of our Amphitheatre, than the *Travertine* of *Rome*. The Order of all the three Stories is *Tuscan*, though some have asserted, that it may be seen consisting of three different Orders. The more finished part, namely, the upper Ornaments of the third Story, and the Capitals and Cornishes of the other two, are of white Marble; the rest regularly made of red, which doubtless must have afforded a most entertaining and symmetrical Prospect to the Eye; the inner Stairs and the Steps also, may be seen, by what remains, to have been of red Marble. The Stones made use of were very large, since every one of them extends through the whole

212. Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Breadth under the Pilasters, so as to fit both ways; not disposed regularly, placed without equality, or the one corresponding to the other; all which we have exactly represented in the Drawing.

this Reason some Strangers, perhaps, have been of opinion, that the Architect shew but little *skill therein, imagining that Architecture itself consisted chiefly in this.

Rusticity of the Work, together with the tuberances of the *Tuscan* Order, seen in a Pile, and of such Materials, seems to tribute towards Grandeur and Strength.

ancient Manner of not smoothing the w Surface of the Stones of the inner S which ought to join, is here observed for they left a wide Border only smooth the middle part under it was rough, and so high as the Edges; and this either to Labour, or because it could not be so to make them join exactly, if they were pieced together neatly throughout the w Space; which, however, is not seen in e Point of View. By this Mark, sometimes the Stones of ancient Edifices made use in modern Buildings, may be distinguished and thereby some formerly belonging to Amphitheatre are also known: Among many others, which, in the Time of the *ligers*, were used in the Foundation of Wall which surrounds the Captain's Gar those of them above ground are Eviden

* *Diar. It. c. 28. Architectum non singularis pretii fuit.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 213

that a great number of others have been laid in the Foundation of the foresaid Wall.

In all this Circuit, and likewise in the interior Parts which are of Marble, we never find Lime or Mortar made use of, but the Stones placed one above another without any kind of Cement, and yet are pieced together in a very nice manner, clasped at the Top of the Arches with Pivots or Nails, and in the upright Parts, with Keys of Iron or Stones left projecting out in what was already built, the better to join them. Such was the antique Way of Building, and how very ancient, is clearly shewn in a Passage of ^o *Thucydides*, who, in describing bulky Walls built round about the *Pireus* by the Advice of *Themistocles*, affirms, that *there neither was Sand nor Lime made use of in them, but large Stones linked together, and cut square; the exterior ones were clasped together with Iron and Lead*. In this manner, I think, ought his Words to be understood. There are many Passages in the Greek Writers which confirm this Method in Building: Hence, as *Fontana* asserts, that the demolishing the Coliseum, by reason of the Concatenation of the Stones and Iron Bracers, became a tough piece of Work to ^o those

^o Lib. 1. εν τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ χαλιζ ἔτε πηλος ἦν ἀλλὰ συνωκοδομαίμενοι μεγάλοι λίθοι, καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγῶνιοι, σιδῆρω πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἐξωθεν καὶ μολυβδῶ δεδεμένοι.

^o By this our Author means the Family of Parma, who, in order to build the Palace Farnese, demolished part of the Coliseum.

214 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

who, in not a very remote Age from this disrobed or demolished part of it. Such Ligatures or Cramps of Metal were only made use of in the outer Stones, as we have seen in the *Greek* Historian just now quoted and confirms ¹⁰ *Vitruvius's* Method, who prescribed, that *the Stones in the Front of Buildings should be linked together with Lead and Cramps of Iron.* From this usage in the ancient Fabricks, the many Holes seen in the Coliseum, happened to be made in process of Time, of which so many ridiculous things have been said, particularly that they either were done by the Hands of the *Barbarians*, or served to have Stakes or Poles placed in them for supporting Towers at their publick Fairs. The Learned Bishop *Suarezius* wrote a Treatise about them, reconciling six different Opinions concerning the Reasons why such Hollows appeared. But we may believe it for certain, that nothing occasioned such Holes, but the Peoples Greediness to take away the Metal which linked the Stones to one another. In effect, *Scamozzi*, in his Book of the Antiquities of *Rome*, assures us, that he knew that the Cramps of Metal in every part of the Coliseum, were either taken away or tempted to be stolen. But perhaps in the middle Ages, Metall was more scarce and dearer than at other times; and perhaps

¹⁰ *Vitruv. l. 2. c. 8.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 215

abandoning that part of the City where the Coliseum stood, made it become the Resort of Drovers and Shepherds, who from Poverty and Idleness may have been induced to do such things. But I suspect such miserable Theft as this, was already begun even in the time of King *Theodoric*, and the Reproof he gave those who "robbed Lead and Metal from the Walls of Buildings, may have alluded to this. In the Arch of *Susa* the very same kind of Holes are seen, as may be observed in the Print I have given of it in my *Historia Diplomatica*, and of the *Acts*, where I have caused such Holes to be represented as they are. When I was on the spot, being asked what was the meaning of them, as a proof of what I have said, I made them observe, how they are always found above the joinings of the Stones, and not seen beyond a certain Height; and because every one there seemed dissident in that Particular, I immediately sent for Chissels, and having caused such another Hole to be made in a place of the Building till then untouched, the Keys or Cramps of Metal appeared very soon, which I carried away with me, and keep among my Collection of Antiquities. Besides, that the Iron might clasp the better, and be kept free from Rust, we find it wrap'd over with Lead, by which the above-mentioned Passages of *Thucydides*

" *Cass. var. l. 3. 31.*

216 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

and *Vitruvius* appear true and are confirmed. *Gioan Battista Alberti* said, he had observed in ancient Edifices, that Iron spoils and lasts a short time; and so it does, but they preserved it by the Method just now mentioned. The Effect of such a Concatenation is wonderfully well perceived in one of the Wings of our Amphitheatre, which shall very soon be considered; for there we see the Stones aloft almost entirely detached from the others, and hanging without the Appearance of any thing supporting them: so likewise one of the upper Pilasters is become very crooked, and removed in such a manner from the rest, as to appear ready to fall on those who look at it; yet such an Appearance has it made for several Ages, tho' every thing is kept in its place without falling.

There is one very considerable Difference to be observed in the Profile of the outer Walls of the *Roman* Amphitheatre and that of *Verona*, namely, that in the first, the Diminution observed in the Thickness of the Wall throughout every Story, inclines towards the Inside, tho' the Wall itself is almost perpendicular: whereas, on the other hand, in that of *Verona*, the Wall always diminishes on the Inside, and retires and is lessened but little on the exterior Surface. *Serlio* said, that the diminishing towards the Inside, as that of *Rome* does, gives greater Strength to the Building, and the Effect thereof seems indeed to confirm
his

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 217

his Assertion, since so great a Part remains of the external Surface in the *Roman Amphitheatre*, and so little in that of *Verona*. Nevertheless, the Circuit or outer Round of that of *Pola*, which likewise diminishes on the Inside, is entirely preserv'd, and we see by the one and the other, that the contrary Method was used by the Ancients, and carries along with it the Advantage of admitting more Space in the higher Parts: The effect of which is first known in the Roof which covers our first Portico; since the Wall thereof is placed wholly on the Thickness of the lower Pilasters, which becomes less in the second Story; and we see the same also at the Foot of the other Roof above; since this likewise is laid on that Part which lessens in the third.

C H A P. III.

The first Circuit of the Arena.

THE Arches of the *Arena*, or the Entries around it, were in Number Seventy two; those of the *Coliseum* Eighty, by which, and at the same time from the Measures of the great Pilasters, and the Width of the Apertures, we find, that ours of *Verona* is not so very much less than it, as some imagine, tho' the wanting of the external

218 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

ternal Circuit, and superb Front in ours makes it appear small, in comparison of that of *Rome*. The Arches of the Amphitheatre [if it was one] at *Nimes*, are only sixty in Number, as we find in the *French Atlas* already mentioned. The Arches in that of *Capua* are said to have been eighty, but those who pretend to have survey'd it on the spot assure us, that there could not have been so many, and that it is very difficult at present to determine the precise number of them and very easy to make mistakes therein. They affirm the same about this, as they do in making the Plan of it, with two exterior Portico's, the one near the other, that the Builders first had a view to make it exactly like that of *Rome*; but I shall not be so bold as to decide this matter.

Every Arch has its Number engraven upon it, as is seen in the Print; a Circumstance never observ'd before by those who have wrote about the Amphitheatre of *Rome* and indeed very ill omitted, since such Numbers serve to regulate the coming in and going out of a vast multitude of People, in a very short space of Time, without being crouded or occasioning the least confusion; the Inhabitants of different Districts being so divide and ranged, as to have the particular Gate assigned them where they were to enter. The like was practised even in the *Circus* after the People were divided into thirty *Curia's*.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 219

Curia's, and every one their Places allotted them by *Tarquin*, as we read in ¹ *Halicar-nassus* and *Livy*. These above-mentioned Numbers are engraven on the Architraves, with the Mark of the List they contain'd: Those of the *Roman* Amphitheatre, which has thirty one of them remaining, namely, from XXIII, to LIII, are without any other Ornament, between the Architrave and the Arch-roof, or Face of the Arch; for which reason I have shewn them so in my Draught, Of the Stones marked with this Number, placed above the Arches of our Amphitheatre, but now for the most part destroy'd, one of them is still seen in the middle Pile of the Bridge *delle Navi*; another in the Gate *delle Carozze* of Signor *Bertoldo Pellegri*, where for several Ages it has served for Posts.

There remains a part of the Rows of the lower Pillars, under ground, as the Drawing shews; the Reason of this is not, as ² *Lipsius* imagined [tho' the Truth is, he appears to have been but ill instructed in Architectonic Matters] when he writes, that the Earth giving way, such great Piles of Building sunk with their vast Weight downwards, in the manner we see them: whereas every one knows, that if any kind of Building does not rest firm and solid where they placed it at first,

¹ *D. Hal. lib. 1. Liv. l. 2.*

² *Amph. cap. 7. desidens terra cedente.*

220 *Of AMPHITHEATRES.*

or if the Foundation should give way, they must of course be disjoined, and immediately fall to the ground. So that all this proceeds from the Ground being raised round about it, according to that fatal Disorder which happens frequently in Cities when they don't take precautions against it: and this by reason of Rubbage fallen down, or brought into them. But notwithstanding this, we may, if we please, at present have the pleasure to see one of the great Pilasters of our Amphitheatre uncovered as low as its Bottom, the Earth having been removed on purpose, which gives us likewise a View of the interior Flooring of the Portico.

These Pilasters from the Floor to the Impost, are ten Feet ten Inches in Height; at the Bottom they have a Pavement above half a Foot high, which comes out near as much more further than the remaining Part, and serves as a Basement. The Capital [so was the Impost of the Arch called, because it goes all round] is one Foot eight Inches high, and the Projection eight Inches. The Front of the Pilasters six Feet three Inches, of which Measure the Side encreases something more than half a Foot. The Counter-front is something less than an Inch, in the fore Part; so in proportion it is in the other interior Parts: all of them being made to retire or contract in proportion, as they met towards the Point. The Counter-pilaster,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 221

or the flat Pillar runs from the Foot of it to the Top, and dividing the Capital of the Pilaster, helps to support the Architrave; its Breadth is two Feet eight Inches, Height nineteen Foot, of Projection something less than an Inch, and a Foot and a half in the Capital; and as there are no Pillars in this Building, I have made no Model, but used the same Measure of Feet and Inches. In the *Roman* Amphitheatre, the lower Pilasters have six Feet eight Inches of Front, and in the Middle of them, in place of our Counter-pilaster, a half *Doric* Pillar, which projects two Feet eight Inches. The Breadth of the Voids in the Arches is thirteen Feet. *Fontana* gives us no other Measures which make for our purpose, but these; so that we shall easily make dispatch.

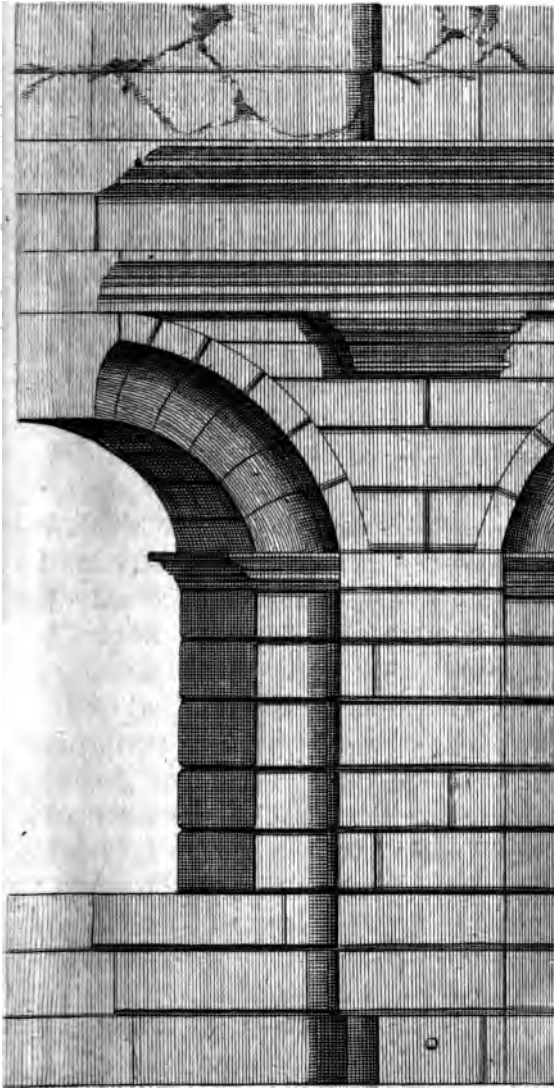
The Breadth of the empty Spaces of our Arches, namely, of the four Entries which remain, is eleven Feet eight Inches, tho' not so in every Place, as shall be mentioned elsewhere: The Height of the Arch from the Pavement to the Top, is eighteen Feet. As those Voids served in place of so many Gates, so except on the occasion of performing the Shews, they were kept shut; and therefore on the Sides of the Pilasters near the Front [as we see here by the Draught of the Section] the Cavities appear to be from the Ground to the Capital, almost a Foot wide, in which the Grates or Gates were placed;

222 Of AMPHITHEATRES

placed; by which it appears they did not open, but on solemn Days were taken away all together. The Architrave above the Capitals of the plain Pillars, is 2 Feet high; next follows the Freeze, higher 2 Inches. The one and the other are formed plain and unpolished, from two Fasciæ, if we may call them so; the lowermost with its Prominence, the other goes inward. However, the Cornish is ornamented, and is 1 Foot 8 Inches high, having as much more of Projection.

Proceeding to the second Floor, first of all there is a Fascia which surrounds it, in height one Foot three Inches; above which the Pilasters rise 12 Feet 2 Inches; next are their Capitals, in height 1 Foot 8 Inches: at the foot of them is a *Lastra in costa*, or flatten'd Stone, set edgeways, not rustic but smooth, 3 Feet 6 Inches high, and 8 Inches thick; which, by its projecting out two ways, and by the Smoothing and Impression made on the Ground, we know it has been continued all around, and served as a Parapet and Fence to those who may have walked in the Passage or Covered Way of that Story. The Front or Breadth of the Pilasters is 5 Feet 6 Inches, their Side is as much; the plain Pillar which they have in the middle is 2 Feet 10 Inches broad, and projects 6 Inches, high above the *Lastra in Costa* 21 Feet 8 Inches, its Capital 1 Foot 8 Inches, the Pilastrata or Range of Pilasters, which support the

Plate VI.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet

Inscribed.



Of AMPHITHEATRES. 223

the Arch, besides the Lastra, are 3 Feet 6 Inches, high 8 Feet 8 Inches, broad 1 Foot 3 Inches; the Projection of the Impost half a Foot, the Height of the Arch 20 Feet 2 Inches, Breadth of the Void between the Arches 12 Feet 3 Inches, tho' not all of them alike. The Thickness of the Vault or Roof below, and the Flooring above, of which we see the Marks in the Pilasters, amounted to about 2 Feet 2 Inches. The Architrave of this Story is 1 Foot 7 Inches high, the Freeze 1 Foot 9 Inches, the Cornish 1 Foot 4 Inches, and are of the same Form with those aforesaid.

In the third Story, the three Fasciæ or Bindings, which serve as a Parapet, are 5 Feet high, the Front of the Pilasters in breadth 8 Feet 8, the Side 2 Feet; the Arch 12 Feet 8 Inches high, the Pilastrata in height 8 Feet, the Impost 1 Foot 2, the plain Pillars, perpendicular above the others, are 4 Feet 4 broad; but we must remark, that they loose themselves from the Capitals of the Pilasters upward, the whole Wall remaining equal; which cannot be seen by those which stand below, as much on account of the Distance, as because of the Capital, 1 Foot 9 Inches; which, notwithstanding what is above, the Breadth of the Void is 9 Feet 6 Inches; the Arch in Front, as made a * *Guscio*, with Apertures, so very well proportioned, Semi-circles so well turned, Stones hollowed in

* N.B. *Guscio* signifies the Encarpion of Vitruvius, and is an Ornament of the Capital of the Ionic Order.

224 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

so masterly a Manner, and with such a delightful Harmony of Ornaments, and so well dispos'd to the Eye, that whoever sees it, at a reasonable Distance, and as high as is possible, cannot satiate themselves with beholding its Beauty. Of this there is a View in Plate VI. where the upper ornamented part of this Story is also exhibited, which measures four Foot six Inches in all, but more of this in the next Chapter.

C H A P. IV.

The upper Ornaments of the Tuscan Order, never before taken notice of by Architects.

TO arrive at a true and perfect Knowledge of the Architectonic Parts preserved in the external Circuit of the Amphitheatre, there remains nothing but to observe it in great, with all the Measures of its different Members, together with their *Abaci* or *Dye* of the Capital, Fillets, and *Gula*, all which are represented in the 7th Plate. But the upper Ornaments of the third Story, with the Capitals on which they rest, deserve our particular regard, since we may make thereby a new and important Discovery, for supplying the place of a Ceiling, if we may so call it, which is still practised in Building. When in the Age 1400, the

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 225

the Study of the Arts and Sciences began to revive in *Italy*; an Elegancy likewise in Architecture, after the ancient Taste, was at the same time advancing, and gaining ground by the pains People took to examine the *Roman* Buildings minutely. The chief Masters in Architecture having, for the publick good, collected from them, and at different Times published the Rules laid down in the Orders, one of their chief Cares was to observe the Ornaments of the Ancients; there having been several Edifices which had preserved them, and from which they could be learnt. The *Doric* they chiefly came acquainted with, by examining the Theatre of *Marcellus*; the *Ionic*, from the Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*; the *Corinthian*, from the *Pantheon* of *Agrippa*; the *Composite*, from the Triumphal Arch of *Titus*; and the whole, from Remains here and there to be seen. The *Tuscan* Order only, was that wherein they were left in the dark, there having been no ancient Edifice found in *Rome*, whereon the Ornaments thereof were preserved: For this Reason some have believed, that as it was more massy than the others, it must therefore have been entirely rough and deprived of every Beauty in the Art; most People affirming, that the Architraves of the *Tuscan* were of Wood, as if it had been impossible for any noble Fabrick to be made in that Order. Notwithstanding all this, 'tis my Opinion

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226 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

that this Order ought to be investigated with more Care than the others; not only as it is peculiarly and natively our own and of *Italy*, but the very first and most ancient of any. The Composite, the last Order of all, was likewise *Italian*; so that of the five, *Greece* invented three, *Italy* two: of these last, one is the strongest of any, the other the most ornamented; the first paved the way for the others, the last put a Boundary to the Art. Besides, the *Tuscan* deserved to be more studied than the others because therein is comprehended more than is commonly believed, nor did it consist in one Manner only. I learn from ² *Vitruvius* where he makes mention of the different kinds of the *Tuscan*, that there were some who transposed the Dispositions of the *Tuscan* Pillars into the *Ionic* and *Corinthian*: however, he did not reckon the *Tuscan* among the three *Greek* Orders, nor the *Composite* either; nor in treating of the other Pillars does he speak of the *Tuscan*: he rather speaks of the *Tuscan* Usage, with regard to the Distribution of their Temples, which as the Symmetry of the ornamented Parts, may here conclude that they were variously composed.

Leon Battista Alberti the *Florentine*, who was the first after the Ages of the Ancients that published a full and learned Treatise

² L. 4. c. 7. de *Tuscanicis generibus*.

bout Architecture, in his seventh Book describes the Ornaments of the other four Orders, but spoke nothing about the *Tuscan*; and indeed, did not reckon it among the Orders. Nor is there any Mistake made in the Translation of his Book, which, by dividing it into Chapters, in the Argument prefixed to the eighth Chapter of the seventh Book says, that there he treats of the Capital of the *Tuscan*; tho' afterwards, when he speaks of the *Composite*, the Arguments made use of there are not in the original *Latin* of the Author, printed after his death at *Florence*, in the Year 1485; where, on the other hand, in the foregoing Chapter, the vulgar Version has it, that *the* *Tuscans* *lopted into their Capitals all the Ornaments they could find*. The *Latin* says, *at the Italians* did the like; by this he means the Capital of the *Composite* or *Roman* Order. Some other Writers have bred a Confusion therein, particularly *Vasari*, who says, that the *Roman* or *Composite* Order was found out by the *Tuscans*, and calls the *Tuscan* by the Name of the *Rustick* Order. *Daniel Barbaro*, in his noble Translation and Illustration of *Vitruvius*, treated almost every thing fully, but did not enter upon the upper ornamented Parts of the *Tuscan*, the Author having mentioned nothing concerning it. *Bastian Serlio*, however, gave its Form, tho' the whole was the Product

228 Of AMPHITHEATRES;

of his own Invention and Fancy; nor, indeed, had he great Success therein. *Philander*, a Disciple of *Serlio*, being called into *France* by *Francis I.* carried Architecture with him beyond the *Alps*: In illustrating *Vitruvius* he endeavoured likewise to shew all the Parts of the *Tuscan* Order, but took it neither from his Author, nor had the Authority of any ancient Edifice to support it. *Barozzi* from *Vignola*, confessed candidly, that in this part he had made use of his own Imagination, because he says, *he had not found any of the Tuscan Ornaments among the Antiquities of Rome, by which he could form a Rule in that, as he could in the other four Orders.* For which Reason ⁴ *Chambray* in his Book says, that since Architects could not find any Example among the Ancients, of the upper ornamented part of the *Tuscan* Order, he does therefore, he says, not regard their Inventions. And yet for all this, it is certain, that those Masters might easily have supplied that Want, and have been able with good ground, to have shewn what the true Ornaments of the *Tuscan* were, if they had but considered our Arena more accurately, than what they have done; for in the third Story thereof it is to be seen intirely well preserved, and elegantly executed. In reading *Andrea Palladio's* first Book, where he says he took the Coun-

⁴ P. 2. c. 3.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 229

erpoise of the Architraves, Freeze and *Tuscan* Cornish, from the *Arena* of *Verona* ; I immediately thought that he alone had hit the Mark : but observing that after this he hews an Architrave without Members, a Freeze without polishing, a Cornish with other Parts, and the Whole with various Measures: I then perceived that he too, because of the Narrowness of the Street where the building stands, neglected, as well as the others, to observe the uppermost Story, which alone deserved most to have been consider'd ; so that he govern'd himself entirely, by only remarking the two Stories below, and even those he perhaps mixed with what he had seen in other Buildings, from which, he says, he had likewise taken it. *Scamozzi*, who labour'd on the *Tuscan* Order, according to his own Fancy, pretended he had taken the whole from the Remains of ancient Buildings ; but in our Amphitheatre he might have seen it entire and well executed, and so might have learned thereby not to have put the Heads of his Beams in his Freeze.

But leaving the two lower Stories where the Architraves and Freeze are formed by two rustic *Fasciæ*, as the rest are, we may first observe, that the Capital, by which the highest Architrave is supported, contains twice as many Parts as the others, with a rounding and strait *Gula* between two Registers.

230 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

The Architrave is next divided into four Parts, two Stories, a Reverse, *Gula*, and a Lift. We may see a Piece of this when we look near, in the Tower called *dell Orgoglio*, of the old Castle, contiguous to the Arch *de Gavii*, where the largest Stones there, were almost all taken from the outer Circuit of the Amphitheatre. The Freeze is simple, but smooth and polished; and from this Order it would seem, that the *Doric* of the *Coliseum* has been taken. Next follows the Cornish, consisting likewise of a double number of Members more than what are in the others, extremely well disposed, with a Water-spout, as appears by the Draught. This is the Manner in which the Ornaments of the *Tuscan* Order were divided, and very different from those of the other Orders, tho' more solid, noble, and symmetrical. Some, I doubt not, will however not allow these upper Ornaments to be any thing else but *Doric*; and if so, the pretended discovery of the *Tuscan* Order would fall to the ground. But whoever observes the two Stories below, will be of a different Opinion; for from them we may very safely conclude, that the upper Stories can be nothing else but *Tuscan*, since the Stories of any Building must either be all of different Orders, or of one kind only. In the *Coliseum*, 'tis true, every one of them are different, and in the *Settizonio* or seven Zones of *Severus*, they are all *Corinthian*.

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Of AMPHITHEATRES. 231

Daviler, a Modern, and a *French* Man, in his Course of Architecture, or rather Translation and Commentary on *Vignola*, affirms, there is no ancient Monument, in which the regular *Tuscan* Order can be found, and that the Amphitheatres of *Verona*, *Pola*, and *Nimes*, are too rustic to serve for a Rule to the *Tuscan*, so as to give it a place among the other Orders. *Blondel*, another *French*-man, on the contrary, who has wrote a Course of Architecture on *Vitruvius*, *Palladio*, *Vignola*, and *Scamozio*, called our three Orders of Pilasters *Doric*. So that tho' they were rustick, they appear'd to him to be more than *Tuscan*, if I may say so, and more ornamented than what they are. But I cannot well understand, how any Mortal, especially an Architect, can [from unpolished Stones, grown brown and rough with age] judge any piece of Architecture to be bad; on the contrary, it would be better, if he had imagined that such a majestic, regular, and symmetrical Edifice ought to be reckoned among those not made by chance, but conceived according to some kind of Order or another: so that I think, all that *Daviler* would say, is, that Amphitheatres have no Order of Architecture in them at all. Besides, this Gentleman condemns the making *Bugne*, as we call them; namely, round Knobs, *Protrances* [or *Bozze*, according to the *Tuscan* Way of expressing it] in the Stones of the

232 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Pilasters, which he says breed confusion, and makes it lose his Form. Hence he greatly condemns the Architecture of the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, where he would have these *Bozze* or Knobs, to be only placed in the Body of the Building, not in the Pilasters; but if so, I think it would produce a shocking Disagreement to the Eye, and the whole lose a great deal of its Grandeur. But the marvellous Man did not think fit to observe that this is a Building, the whole exterior Part of which consists only of Pilasters and Arches. What regards the Form of the Order being lost by such a Rusticity in the Work, as appear'd likewise to *Chambray*; these able Men might easily have known their Error if [abstracting from the two lower Stories which likewise are regular and well understood, and besides their Capitals and Corniches, which are surely not *en bossage*] they had lifted their Eyes up to the Top of the *Ala* or Flat, were they would have seen the upper ornamented Part so elegant, and well conducted, that any who should declare he did not relish it, must have himself a very dull Taste in such Things. And though the Narrowness of the Street on that side of the Amphitheatre, does in a great measure deprive People of the Pleasure of viewing it to advantage; that does not however hinder Strangers, who are Lovers of so fine an Art, to be conducted to a certain high

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 233

igh Window, tho' of a mean House, a
tle distant from it: for there the fine Arches
the third Story, with all the higher
naments, furnish him with an agreeable
iew; the whole consisting of elegant and
erfect Architecture.

Desgodetz, who named no particular Or-
er as subsisting in this Fabrick, in his last
late, shews the *Profile* in large, of all the
arts which we have been hitherto descri-
ing; and in some of them he corrected *Ser-*
s, whose Mistakes perhaps, in some of the
embers, are owing to the Engraver, in re-
representing Things wrong. I am astonished
hat neither the one nor the other should so
much as reflect, that here they had the
me Composition of the *Tuscan* Order: But
he Care and Industry of *Desgodetz* was
ere not sufficient, in endeavouring to repre-
sent the Truth fully. The Impost in the
first Order is right, as is likewise the Capi-
tal of the Counter-pilasters, or plain Pillars,
which he calls Pilasters; but that wherein
he fails, is in placing a kind of Basement under
the Freeze, which is not in the Building it
self, nor indeed has ever been there.

There is a small Difference in the Measure
of the Members or Parts of the Cornish; in
the higher Order, the Impost of the Arch
has not that Story below, nor that Disposi-
tion of the Measures, the two higher *Gule*
eing almost equal. The Architrave like-
wise,

234 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

wife, does not occasion the Fasciæ to be so narrow, which would take away from its Gracefulness; nor does it cause the reverse Gula to appear exceedingly narrow, which would have a mighty bad Effect too, but has all the three Members or Parts very near equal. The Cornish, according to *Desgodetz*, has a different Proportion of the Members, as may be observed by comparing it with the other, and not very well corresponding with the ancient Manner; nor is there any thing like a Drain for Water to be seen.

The fourth Story might perhaps be more ornamented, was something added to the Freeze. Two large Pieces of the Fabric, which appear to have been parts of the great Windows, are still to be seen near the Amphitheatre; one of which has been made use of in building up a modern Wall under the Gallery in the middle; the other that stood above, lies in the Porch of the second Story. The Height whereon the second, which is vastly great, had lodg'd, shews that it had fallen from the highest part of all; in these we see that the great Windows had a Border round them, which is not in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, and that the Traverse above was something like an Arch. But further, a Piece of an ancient Architrave had lain for a long time a few Paces from the Amphitheatre; which at present I order'd to be brought within the Building; and digging in the Situation of the
external

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 239

external Circuit, two Fragments of the Cornish were found, which fit such an Architrave extremely well. The Order in these is Composite, and the Parts and Workmanship intirely like that of *Titus's* Arch. We cannot imagine that they are Remains of the Top of the Building; first, because, as we have said a little before, the two lower Stories shew of what Order even the upper ones have been. Secondly, because such Carvings would not have been suitable to so vast a Height; nor have agreed with the rest. I'm therefore much more inclinable to believe, that those parts belong'd to the Vestibule of the principal Gate, in which Situation they were also dug up; of which we shall speak in its due place.

C H A P. V.

That the Statues mention'd by Ligorio are fabulous.

BEfore I leave treating about the outer Circuit, I find it convenient to speak of the Statues, asserted by some to have been round the Amphitheatre. *Ligorio*, in his Draught, places one before every square Pillar of the third Story; which, because of the Beauty of the thing, it was enough to make it well receiv'd by every body; in
so

236 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

so much, that no Drawing of the Amphitheatre has since that time been made, without Statues. Such a Representation struck Peoples Fancies so much, that without the like Figures, many think Amphitheatres are nothing at all. Nay, by way of emulating our Arena, Statues are now exhibited too, in the Prints of other Amphitheatres. And yet for all this, it is undoubtedly certain, that Statues neither were, ought to have been, nor could have been there; nor is it a little derogatory from the true Idea of Architecture, to make people believe that the Ancients placed Statues in such a ridiculous manner, *viz.* on the outside of such a Building, and before Walls or Pilasters, without any Niches, and above the Projection of a Cornish, which had not Substance or Strength sufficient to support them, and where they could not have had room to stand, unless they had been six times less than what the Distance would require. Moreover, our observing no such Statues to have been ever placed on the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, [which was a Work much more sumptuous and ornamented than ours, and in which City there were so great a Number of Sculptures] was enough to convince us, that none ever were on the Amphitheatres of the *Municipia*, and at a distance from *Rome*. I own, 'tis true, Figures are represented in Medals on the second and third Stories of the Coliseum,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 237

lifeum, but these only within the Voids and below the Arches, where they might have had a Place ; but not in the Situation where they have placed Statues on our Amphitheatre. Nay, I believe it very probable, that those Figures on the Medals, do not represent Statues of Marble or Metal, except perhaps those above the principal Entry ; and whatever is represented in other Places, I take to be nothing else but counterfeited Ornaments, which may have been made of Wood or Canvas, and placed occasionally on the Days when their solemn Shews were to be exhibited, denoting a Festival, and ranged by way of adorning, or setting forth the Building, or to do honour to the Person who may have given the Game.

I am confirmed in this Conjecture, for having in *Turin* found the Abbot *Filippo Juvara* of *Messina* of the same Opinion ; an Architect that supports the Honour of this Age, and sets it upon a Level with those of Antiquity ; and it is manifestly certain, by all the Observations made at *Rome*, in the same Situation of the Amphitheatre, that never have any Vestiges appear'd, or the least Remain of Pedestals or Bases, or any kinds of Statues been dug up in that Part. Hence it is, perhaps, that the same Medal of *Titus*, of a middle size, exhibited by me, has not the Appearance of any such Figures

238 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

figures upon it. 'Tis also for this reason, that in the different Medals we have, those Figures are different also. Besides, whereas in the fourth Story of the Coliseum, we see Windows alternately squared in the Medals, yet we find the intermediate Spaces not bare, as they are in the Fabric, but filled up with certain roundish Figures, which appear like Shields; nor could they have been any thing else, but counterfeited Ornaments, to be placed or taken away, just as occasion required. In the high Machine described by ⁵ *Herodian*, and made use of at the Deification of the Emperors; he relates that various Pictures and Figures of Ivory were placed around it: and in the Medal of *Antoninus*, we see that, together with the Machine, there is represented a Statue at the Top; and yet it is most certain that this Statue was not of Marble, or Metal, since it must have been wholly burnt and reduced to Ashes on that occasion. The Theatre was the properest Place for Statues, and yet neither that of *Pompey*, nor the others, had durable Statues placed on the outside of them.

Father ⁶ *Montfaucon*, in his *Diarium Italicum*, and also in his Collection of Antiquities, places a great Number of Images round the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, which Building (according to that much-esteemed Writer) was attended with better Fortune than

⁵ *Herodian*, lib. 4.

⁶ *Cap. 22.*

what

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 239

what is common to other Things in *Italy*; and so tells, that above the Epistylia, or Chapters of the Pillars of the undermost Story, the Heads of the Gods are still remaining: Above the second Floor the Gods themselves from the Navel upward: Above the third, the Statues of those Divinities. At the same time he observes, that such Ornaments were wanting in the *Roman Coliseum*, and adds, what a fine Sight it is to see in one single Round or Circuit, the whole Assembly of the antient Deities, in their true Form and Likeness. "I would seem by all this, as if that Author believed, the Epistylia or Chapters of the Pillars, in every different Order, did extend in such a manner, as that in the first place, they should contain the Figures as far as their Breast, then with their whole Busto, next their whole Length: But this, I own, is a very new and uncommon Method, and the first time we ever heard that Busts and Statues stood upon the Chapters of the Pillars; because, if you will by that Word *Epistylum*, either understand the Architrave, as we have reason to imagine it, and in the Sense that *Vitruvius* uses it; or the Capitals, as others understand it, and commonly explain it falsely; 'tis in my Opinion, a very diverting Story, to hear that Statues rested on Architraves, put under Freezes, or on Capitals under Architraves. In the Book of *Les Antiquitez Expliques*, or
Anti-

240 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Antiquities Explained, 'tis said that these Things rested upon every Pillar, but that the half Pillars all around had the Architrave laid upon them; it is not less diverting to think, that because they had a Place for 80 Figures there, that that was the Reason why they should represent the Gods in that Place, as if the *Romans* had just so many principal and common Divinities to be ranged in the same Rank. The truth is, that in the two lower Arches remaining there are upon every one of the Keys of the Arches a Face cut in Relievo, with the beginning of the Bust; nor had the higher Orders any more upon them: For we may see the Arches in the Coliseum were exactly alike too, in all the four Storys.

There are some who from the foresaid Description have been induced to assert, that abundance of Bustos and Niches were also in the Coliseum, placed above the Inner Entries, tho' of these there is not the least Vestige remaining, nor indeed can a proper Place be assigned there for such Ornaments.

But to return to our Statues: Some Plinths, or rather Dyes, seen upon the second Cornish at the Foot of the plain Pillars, gave rise to that common Mistake, as appears by the Draught: But these are so minute, that had they been taken for Figures, they must have been very small indeed, when at that Height, they ought to have been Colossus's, supported
with

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 241

With large Pedestals, and a Cavity in the Wall for receiving them. Nor can I imagine that 70 of such great Statues could have been so very much annihilated, but that a great many pieces of them must still be seen, and dug up from time to time. If any should ask for what Use the formentioned Plinths served, I answer, in the first place, that I have observ'd a square Hole in the middle of every one of them, in which a piece of Wood may have been fixed with another cavity before, as is marked in the Drawing; which last served by way of a Spout for the discharge of the Water: From which we may gather, that the said Void was not always full nor covered. I have also remarked, how other such kinds of Dyes were likewise above the third Cornish, two of them being still to be seen at the foot of the square Pillars of the uppermost Story; and we may believe it for certain, that they have been followed, not in the middle, but near the Wall, on purpose that the Beams might be placed on, and rest in them, which boring the uppermost Cornish, served for the Velarium. The like I have observed at *Pola*, there, in the same Situation, Stones are seen exactly similar, with a Hole above, joining to the Hollow of the Wall. But of those in our Amphitheatre, which are on the second Cornish, and with the Hole in the middle, I cannot make any other Conjecture about
R. them,

242 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

them; but that on the days when they exhibited their Shews, and when the People assembled together in the Amphitheatre, they may have very probably planted Standards, Trophies, Images of Pastebord, Figures, and other such Ornaments; the whole alluding to the Solemnity.

C H A P. VI.

Plan of the Building, the Passages, and Ingrefs to the Area.

BEing willing to proceed in the Description, I first of all think fit to shew the general Plan; I also give that of the Coliseum by *Fontana*, *Desgodetz*, and others, which we may almost suspect was more taken from *Serlio* than from Truth, and which, in the Sequel of this Treatise will appear: as also how many Errors have been hitherto committed in their treating of the Amphitheatre, will still be more evident, when we come to speak of the second Story. Our own Plan has as much with regard to the Ground-Plot, as that of the higher Parts, being altogether taken from the Truth still subsisting; nor could the same Story in that of *Rome* be different in the general Distribution of its Parts. In both the Draughts I have added an Arcade, raised more than the half,





Of AMPHITHEATRES. 243

[, that thereby we may see the Effect of middle Passage cross-ways. By our sight we know what it really was, and that of *Rome* in what manner they have gin'd it to have been. The whole is tied together, as is seen by the four Enclosures and the three elliptical covered Ways. The Enclosure I understand the Place built between the one Void and the other; that *Rome* was exactly the like, only the latter was doubled on the outside with an additional Portico, having two in all, and the one near the other, supported above the others, and divided by square Pilasters.

Altho' in this Chapter our sole Intention is to treat of the Passages which led into the Arena, 'tis however necessary that we should observe, that the inner Enclosure consists of a Wall, quite solid, 15 Foot thick, which had the lowermost Steps and the Podium resting against it; and as the six Apertures on each side, which is in it, did not lead into the Arena, but by four small inward Steps, every one of which is eight Inches high, by these they ascended to the Podium, which in rising, formed the fifth Step. There is one of those Passages, wherein the ancient small Steps are preserved entire, with that *Lastra* or flat Stone, which, within the Thickness of the Wall, forms the Flooring before it. We afterwards remark, that the two Passages in the middle, cross-ways, are neither larger than

244 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the other common Stairs, nor do they lead to the Field; on the contrary, proceeding between two Walls, they terminate in the interior Portico, and have the Wall in Front: so that whoever came by them, must have ascended to the Podium by one of the two nearest Apertures. Undoubtedly it was the same as the *Roman* Amphitheatre, for the Real is shewn in the Sequel; so that only in the Space which is from the first Entry to the third Portico, could isolated Pilasters have been, and a Communication of the three stages, as is usual to be shewn in Draught. On the other hand, the interior Enclosure has two Apertures at the Extremes of the Oval, much larger than the others. In digging there I found the Leaves of the Doors which led into the Area, and I have seen the great and large Flagstones of the Pavement, marked on the outside here and there, and furrow'd, probably by Iron-Grooves which may have opened and shut. I likewise found, that the two lateral Doors, both those inner Gates, led also into the Area, since instead of small Steps, or Mouldings of them, and of the Pavement before, they all have a suspended Lastra, which continues the Length of the Wall, and from which with a Descent no more than the Depth of one Step, they came down on the Floor of the Area.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 245

The exterior Arches, and the first correspondent, in a streight Line with those two Gates, and marked with the Numbers I. and XXXVII. were wider than any of the others; the two Passages in which we came thorough them are likewise more spacious; and what is remarkable, they don't turn narrow like the others, which proceed to a Point, but always keep up to the same Breadth, even to their Entry or first Opening. After passing by the Arches of the covered Way, in the middle, it would appear as if in the Walls there were the Marks of a Wicket or Door, by which every body else but the Actors seem to have been hindered from coming forward, and which was opened afterwards when the Shews began. Above the Arch of the exterior Entrance, which at present subsists and makes one of the Gates, a Wall rises, in which there was a large Window, altered at present by those who repaired the Fabric.

The Ceiling above, for the length of 15 Feet, is plain; then it continues throughout at its full Height in the manner of a hanging Vault, having nothing in the upper part but the Steps, and has projected much more than it does at present since the latter Reparations which have been made, that, and the out-jetting Window added above the Entries, hinder from seeing how it exactly was at first. The four isolated Pilasters, which

R. 3

are

246 Of AMPHITHEATRES

are seen on each side in these Streets, arched above; but we must consider, that Walls which at present enclose these Places are modern, and made for the use of Rooms which are separately rented out in the parts: however, if they were thrown down and shut up by Grates, those places would serve equally well for the laying up Works in them, and thereby the Nobleness of ancient Entry appear.

In returning outwards through the lateral Arches, two on each side of the great one, we enter into an equal number of Communicable Passages, which have a Communication that in the middle, having, one with another, four Pilasters isolated also: These Passages ended in the second Portico, the Roofs are in the form of a Semi-circle, much lower than that in the middle, and proceed horizontally. The precise Breach of all these Passages will be understood when we shall speak of their Arches of Entrance. But above all 'tis remarkable, that the oval Figure tending to render them defective by contracting or making them narrower as they go along, to avoid this, the sagacious Architect has contrived the most conspicuous one to be always of the same Breach, making all the Imperfection fall in the nearest lateral Arches, the two last Pilasters of which are seen very near to one another, but the Defect even in them seems almost

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 247

hid, because they do not terminate in the enlightned part of a Void, but in a Wall where there is but very little Light.

Certain streight Passages, as we perceive, correspond with the exterior Arches, which continue very near to one another on both sides: These Passages going by the Portico's and all the Rounds, between Wall and Wall, lead into the Area, and give an Entrance into it, by the open Doors we have some time ago mentioned; insomuch, that the exterior Arches at the two Ends of the Oval, were in number seven on each hand, by which those who were to perform in the Field passed; nor had they therein any other Entrance, but by the three on each side hinted at. All this is indubitable, and may be made evident to every one that looks on it.

We may very well perceive, by what is already said, what an imperfect Idea People have till now had of Amphitheatres; for the interior Circuit of that of *Rome* is represented by *Fontana* only as a thin Wall, notwithstanding, in a certain manner, it served as a Foundation to all the upper Steps. This same *Fontana*, *Lipsius*, *Desgodetz*, *Perault* and others, have believed that the Doors below, all around the Amphitheatre, served as Inlets to the Area or open Space in the middle; which, if so, would in a very improper manner have been to assign the same Passages to the Spectators in general,

248 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

and the Actors too, and a shutting up of every kind of Access to the most noble Place Of any, namely, the *Podium*, which had no other Entries.

The two Arches at the Ends of the Oval, are represented by the foresaid Authors to be almost of the same Breadth with the others, when in fact, there is almost one third part of difference; and it has not been remarked, that those two alone do not proceed to a Point.

They have likewise erroneously shewn, that the two diametrical Passages cross-ways, were greater than the others, and that they terminated in the Field; tho', by digging, 'tis found, that the interior Circuit has not, on either side, had any Aperture at all. For 'tis evident, that the middle Passage, broad-ways, was fit for accommodating the Emperor and the other People of Rank, as being that which was the nearest to the best Situation of any for seeing; but not for the Entry of those, with whose Appearance in the extreme parts of the Theatre, they sought to heighten the Entertainment.

In fine, 'tis believ'd, that there was but one only Entry at the end of the Oval, and that it was not broader than the diametrical one cross-ways; and that there was not the Adjacency of two Entries on each side, which render'd it so magnificent: when, besides other Reasons, such a Wideness was necessary, and

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 249

and even double Entries too, because of the Pomp and Appearance, with which sometimes Gladiators came into the Area, and made a fine Shew before they fought.

But that it was so in fact, we may first of all learn from ¹ *Pliny*, where he says, that on a certain occasion *Cæsar* caused all his Equipage for the Arena to be made of Silver, and which was carried before him there in a pompous manner. *Pliny* in this place says also, that then for the first time might the Wild-Beasts be seen pushed on to fight with Implements of that Metal. But I cannot help lamenting that last miserable Period, where, if I may be permitted to say, in the late pompous Edition, the true Text has, without any reason at all, been not a little changed. I may say the same of another Passage there, for where the word *Vasis* is put into the Text, the true Reading should perhaps be *Armis*; because the same *Pliny* in another place ² says, that in one of *Nero's* Games, the *Arms* and Equipage were of Amber. When *Fabius Valens* celebrated a gladiatory Game in *Bologna*, he caused the whole Equipage to be brought from *Rome*, as we learn from ³ *Tacitus*. But in the Amphitheatres, nay, perhaps in the Beginning, some kind of Pomp may have been introduced in imitation of the *Circensian* Games,

¹ L. 33. c. 3.

² L. 37. c. 3.

³ Hist. l. 2. adveſto ex urbe culen.

and

250 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

and such as might now be called a Procession. What ground I have to imagine this, is from a hint given by *Prudentius*, where he mentions the *Amphitheatrical Pomp*. We learn also from ¹⁰ *Isidorus*, that there was a kind of Gladiators who fought on horse-back, who entering one at one Gate, another at the other, mounted upon white Courfers, with decorated Helmets, and great and small Arms, *military Ensigns preceding*: Which Appearance and Figure required, methinks, vast spacious Entries; so that it was very requisite to have two small Gates near the great one. The Class of those Combatants was the most in their kind, and the most noble, as *Isidorus* and *Artemidorus* hint, where the latter says, that to dream of them, ought to be interpreted as denoting a rich and noble Woman. Methinks by their manner of fighting I can perceive, as it were, the first People had of Tournaments and Tiltings. *Cicero's* time they were called by the Greek Name *Andabates*, because their Helmet of a great measure, obstructed their seeing. It still happens by the Armour People use on at tilting with Lances; for which reason that word was applied proverbially to those who did any thing in a blindfolded manner. *Lipsius*, in his ¹¹ *Saturnalia*, treats on

¹⁰ L. 18. c. 53. *Genera Gladiatorum plura, quarum primus ludus Equestris, &c.*

¹¹ L. 2. c. 12.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 251

head with extreme Erudition, and shews, that Tournaments had their Origin from gladiatory Combats, and not from the Usage of the northerly People, as is commonly believed. I think I can perceive them hinted at likewise in the Acts of St. *Demetrius*, quoted already in the first Book ; because in them we have mention made, that while the Emperor was standing within the Palisade, at *Theffalonica*, beholding those *noted Games*, a certain famous Dueller, who commonly worsted every body, being then introduced before that Prince, call'd aloud, and challenged the Person who durst fight him, to go freight into the Field of Battle, for which great Rewards were offer'd. On this, some there present were struck with a kind of Pannic, till a certain Youth coming down from the Steps, frankly offered to engage him. But to return to the foresaid Passage of *Isidorus*, we likewise learn by it, that there were two great Gates in the Amphitheatre, and not four, and that the one faced towards the East, the other the West ; which Description exactly agrees with that of *Rome*, but not with ours, because besides out of *Rome* when they treated of an Amphitheatre, they meant only that of *Titus*. But I shall here shew a place in *Herodian*, which confirms exceedingly well, that the Entry by which the Emperor went into the Amphitheatre, in order to see the Games, was one of those

on

252 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

on the side of the Building, in the middle, and exactly like that we see in ours *Of Verona*, and not by any of the Entries at the two Extremities of the Oval length-ways. This Historian relates, ¹² that the young Man sent to kill *Commodus*, chose for that end to post himself at the Entry of the Amphitheatre, hoping to stand hid there, as being a dark place. Now, if that Entry had had at the end of it a Gate leading into the Area, it surely would not have been dark ; on the contrary very light, as we see the two Gates length-ways were, the Wideness and other Circumstances belonging to it contributing thereto. Neither would any other Entry have been so dark as is represented, since that one only, in opening to the third Portico, has a blind Wall in Front, as is seen in our Plan. So that we find herein an admirable Confirmation of what we read, and what is said in the History, demonstrated with Certainty by what we shall see very soon.

¹² Lib. 1. ὑποσάς ἐν τῇ τῷ Ἀμφιθεάτρῳ εἰσόδῳ, ζοφώδης διαύτη, καὶ λίγη δαίη ἡλπίσι, &c.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Area, or Field of the Amphitheatre : How the Wild-Beasts were brought into it ; of the Wall by which it was surrounded.

THE Area of the Amphitheatre was entirely open and free. *Lipsius* ¹ has related about the Gods, to whom he thought the Amphitheatre was sacred, and says, that an Altar to *Jupiter* stood in the Field ; accordingly in his Draught he has placed one in the middle. But the Amphitheatre was not consecrated to any God at all, being no Temple ; tho' I own the Games they perform'd were consecrated. This, *Sisinnius Capito* relates in his Books, where he treats of the Games cited be ² *Lactantius*. So that *Terullian* spake very properly when he said, *Mars* and *Diana* presided at those Games ; and figuratively, when he affirmed, that the Amphitheatre was consecrated to ³ harsh or cruel Deities. I do not doubt but there may have been an Altar in the Amphitheatre, tho' not in the middle of its Area, or where it might have been a hinderance to the Performance ; nor do I think it was fixed, but moveable,

¹ Cap. 4.

² L. 6. c. 20.

³ Cap. 12.

254 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

as occasion required. The Floor of this Area, which is now made on a Level with the lowest of the Steps that lies hid under ground, was originally almost three Feet and a half lower than what it is at present. I learnt to know exactly where the Level of the ancient Floor had been, by the Height of the Conduits, still preserved under ground, of which we shall speak in its due place; and it was 1 Foot 4 Inches lower than the inner Portico, from which they ascended to the *Podium*: the Height of the thick Wall which surrounded the Field, was exactly even with the last Step but one, seen at present; insomuch that the Ground, or Level of the Area, was lower than the Pavement of the *Podium*, four Feet and a half.

There is one Curiosity, about which every body who looks on the Amphitheatre is anxious to be inform'd, *viz.* in what manner the Beasts were brought into the Field. *Lipsius's* Opinion about this is generally received; namely, that the Animals being kept in Caves under ground, contiguous to, and around the Field, were brought out to the View of the People through Doors, which are believed to have been in the Wall that supported the *Podium*: For this Reason that Author being followed by all the others, in his Drawing has accordingly placed ten or twelve of those Doors on each side, under the *Podium*. The only reason he had for
for

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 255

for placing them there was, he says, his seeing the like kind of Doors in the Amphitheatre of *Verona*; tho' it unluckily happens, that that Amphitheatre is the only one, where in digging, we certainly perceive, there were no such Doors at all, nor was it fit to make them under ground, and in a Wall 15 Feet thick. Besides, there was no room in the Amphitheatres to make subterraneous Caves so large, as were fit for containing the great number of Wild-Beasts made use of at those Shews. *Lipsius* imagin'd, that they were kept below the inner Portico, but it required another kind of a place than that narrow Space; besides, under the Portico's Conduits were hollowed all around, as shall be shewn. I had, myself, some difficulty in the matter, on reading in *Herodian*, * that the Lions killed in the Amphitheatre by *Commodus*, came out from *subterraneous places*. But, as in the Field sometimes they erected pieces of Machinery which represented Mountains, and sometimes planted real Trees on them which appear'd like Woods; so likewise they contrived hidden Caves, from whence, all of a sudden, Animals came out. The Poet † *Calphurnius* asserts this, speaking in one of his Eclogues, that in a Hunting given by the Emperor *Carinus*, ‡ the Ground

* Lib. 1. λέοντων ἐξ ὑπογαίων ἀναβρισθέντων.

† V. *Mart. Apul. &c.*

‡ ——— *Raptæque voragine terra
Emersisse feras.*

was

256 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

was sometimes made to gape, and Gulphs or hollow Pits to open, from whence Beasts came forth.

Such Representations may also have been made at the Hunting exhibited by *Commodus*; but *Herodian* hints, that this happened only but at one time. I think, that in order to feign such hollow Pits, they may have made use of those large subterraneous Conduits which we find go cross the Field, as shall be shewn in its due place. The Belief that Wild-Beasts were kept within the Amphitheatre itself, in Prisons and Dens, is not the last Mistake committed by the Learned in their Notions about the Amphitheatres. I observe in one Passage of ⁷ *St. Chrysostome*, that such Beasts were kept in the remote and uninhabited parts of the City, and within Receptacles where they were confined; and in *Rome*, we know that the *Vivarium* was appropriated for that Use, which was a spacious and noted place; of which ⁸ *Procopius* makes particular mention, and concerning which I refer the Reader to that elaborate Dissertation of Cavalier *Paulo Maffei* of *Volterra*, inserted in the twelfth Tome of the Journal of *Venice*, treating about a curious and rare Inscription.

Ammianus compares the Fury of the Governor *Maximinus* to that of the Wild-Beasts

⁷ *Hom. 6o. in Mat. ἐν ἐρήμῳ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν γαλαδύραις.*

⁸ *Bel. Goth. lib. 1.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 257

of the Amphitheatre when set at liberty by breaking down the Back-doors of their Prisons, *disfractis posticis*. * *Salmasius* on *Vopiscus* lays, that by that word, those Doors are to be understood, through which the Beasts came from their Caves under ground into the Arena; and pretended to mend an obscure Passage in his Author, rendering that word in the aforesaid Sense. *Valesius* on *Ammianus* is of the same opinion, and so are others; but the Evidence of the fact taken notice of by us, shews, that other Doors must be thereby understood. For my part, I cannot conceive that word as relating to any other Doors than those of the places wherein the Beasts were confin'd; from which, I am perswaded, they came into the Arena, where the most fierce and dangerous Animals of all were brought.

The word *Cavea*, used sometimes figuratively for the Theatre and Amphitheatre, regards that part of the Building where the Spectators sat, as *Servius* explains it; and signifies properly, not a *Cave under ground*, as the Vocabularies likewise by the Mistake already hinted at in the Structure of the Amphitheatres, commonly explain it, but a Cave, or Place of Confinement; the word in our Language being transformed, by the usual Changes made in Manuscripts and ancient Monuments, between the Letters *c*, *e* *g*; *v*,

* L. 28. c. 1.

258 Of AMPHITHEATRES

e b, i, and e. *Plautus* and *Cicero* callē that wherein Chickens were penned up *Cavea*, being places of Confinement of the same Form with that of the Beasts, tho' in proportion to the Size of the Animals; and in them were the Wild-Beasts kept and brought from remote Countries, and so carried when occasion required. ⁹ *Laertius* tells us, that *Alexander* caused *Calisthenes* to be put into an Iron Cage; and we learn from *Tatianus*, that within it he was carried about as if he had been a Bear or a Panther. However, * *Apuleius* made the little Fable of *Trafaleontes*, who feign'd himself a Bear and being clothed with the Skin of that Animal, and brought enclosed within a Cage into the House of the Person who was to give the Shew, when admitted, open'd the Doors of the House to his Associates, and so gave them opportunity to plunder. Such was the *Cavea* in which, † *Pliny* tells us *Augustus* caused a tame Tyger to be seen, since it would not have been convenient to shew such an Animal in a subterraneous Cave.

However, ¹⁰ *Marcellinus* says, that *Valentinian* kept near his own Room the *Cavea* of two exceeding fierce Bears: Nor in any other manner could such Beasts be nourish'd or kept alive a considerable time; for if they had been confined in numbers in those sub

⁹ ὡς περ ἀρκτεῖν ἢ πᾶρδαχιν ἀεισσορε.

* L. 4.

† L. 8. c. 17.

¹⁰ Lib. 29. c. 3.

terraneous

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 259

terraneous places (as is believed) they would undoubtedly have killed one another. And we see in our own times, that where-ever Wild-Beasts are kept, every one of them has a separate Room appointed for holding it. We know that such places of confinement were in the manner of Cages made with Grates. ¹¹ *Horace*, in his Treatise *de Arte Poetica*, compares the Man who could break the Bars or Palings of the *Cavea*, to a Bear. In this manner did the Learned ¹² *Gotofredus*, in the Law of *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, understand the *Cavea*, against those, who in bringing Wild-Beasts to *Rome*, encumber'd the *Cavea* of the City. Those Cages were sometimes of Iron; hence ¹³ *Symmachus*, speaking of some Dogs brought from *Scotland*, says, that they were observed to be so fierce at the Games, that they might have been imagined to have been brought likewise in *Cavea* of Iron. Sometimes also these Cages were made of Wood; so *Claudian* spoke of the Beasts prepared for the Games of *Stilico*, ¹⁴ *that they were brought put up within Mansions of Elm, or Holme-Tree*. Hence it is, that in the Book of the Deaths of Persecutors, it is said of *Maximian*, that when he desired to see Men torn to pieces,

¹¹ *Cavea* valuit si frangere clathros.

¹² *G. Th. lib. 15. c. 11. l. 2.*

¹³ *L. 2. Ep. 77. Ut ferreis caveis putares advectos.*

¹⁴ *Paneg. 3. Et clausa servantur ligneis domibus.*

260 Of AMPHITHEATRES:

he caused some of his ¹⁵ Bears to be brought, which he kept on purpose.

Now I am persuaded, that in no other manner were the Wild-Beasts, even the most fierce, brought into the Amphitheatre. Hence *Claudian* says, that in the Preparation of amphitheatrical Shews, in the Consulate of *Stilico*, the number of Wild-Beasts was so great, ¹⁶ that they wanted Carpenters to plain the Wood. So were the *Caveæ* platted with rough Bows of Ash and Beech-Tree, even with the Leaves upon them. In effect, no other way could 100 Lions have been let into the Arena, as Historians say was done by several Emperors; nor could such large Animals, together with their Hutches, have been able to pass through any narrow Door. However, thus is the word *Cavea* understood in many Passages of various Authors, who speak of the Wild-Beasts and Amphitheatres. *Bulenger* also, by the word *Cavea* would have the Caves and Rooms, which he ¹⁷ writes, he saw under the Steps of an Amphitheatre at *Poitou*, to be understood: But such Rooms, corresponding with ours, are neither subterraneous, nor have they the Door towards the Arena; nor could they have served for Wild-Beasts, as we shall see

¹⁵ *Jubebat adferri.*

¹⁶ *Pan. 3. Fabri nec tigna polire sufficiunt rudibus sagæ texerunt & ornīs frondentes cavea.*

¹⁷ *Venat. Circ. cap. 17.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 261

when we come to treat of them. He likewise cites a Passage in *Vopiscus*, where it is said, that a vast number of Beasts were made to come forth *through all the Passages*; but here he speaks of the Circus. So did they bring the Wild-Beasts also into the Forum, when they exhibited the Shews there before the Amphitheatre. It appears also by ¹⁸ *Strabo*, where he speaks of that Machine, mentioned already in another place, from which they caused the Criminal to fall among their Dens: But with regard to the *Postica* or Back-doors, mentioned by *Marcellinus*, we cannot understand that word in any other sense, but as meaning the Doors of the Places wherein the Animals were confin'd; which being open'd, they came forth into the Arena. Perhaps they call'd them *Postica*, as being used to make them not in the Front, but Back-parts of the Cages, or Prisons for the Beasts. This word is found also in the Acts of St. *Taraco* and his Companions, where we read that a Lioness being provok'd, broke the *Postica*: The original *Greek* has it, that the said Animal being unwilling to hurt the Martyrs, returned to the Door, and not finding it open, began to try to break the Boards with her Teeth. But from this we can draw no Consequence at all, and the rather since the fact happen'd in *Cilicia*, where there were no Amphitheatres. I shall,

¹⁸ *Lib. 6. εις γαλειγρας θηριον.*

262 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

however, shew here what is particularly mentioned in the Fragment of a Stone with an Inscription, in the time of *Valentinian*, published by **Fabretti*, and of which I have made mention in the first Book of this Treatise. We read AMPHITHEATRUM CUM PORTIS POSTICIIS ET OMNEM FABRI..... It would seem as if they spoke of Reparation, and if the Marble has it really *Amphitheatrum*, the *Portæ Posticæ* cannot be here understood those of the Cages or Places of Confinement. But I shall here subjoin what I think on the matter; the word *Posticcio*, in the Vulgar, expresses a thing which is not fixed and peculiar to one Place, but is put to, or taken away at pleasure; It undoubtedly comes from *Posticus*, which indeed has had such a Signification in *Latin*. By which 'tis credible, that in the Amphitheatres the Gates were so called which kept the exterior Arches of the Entrance shut; which, as our Vestiges shew, and as we have hinted at above, were not fixed, but removed on the days wherein the Shews were exhibited; for this reason they were called *Posticæ*. These then we may believe were done over again, by the Person whom the Inscription mentions. Besides, in this Sense, the word *Posticæ* agrees very well with the Doors of the Places where the Beasts were confined, because it was necessary that they should be put on, and removed at pleasure. I shall

* *Fab. Ins. p. 629.*

not

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 263

not neglect to mention here, that one Passage of *Apuleius* gives us reason to believe, that it was usual in the Games of Wild-beasts to place Machines of Wood in the middle, in the manner of a moveable and ornamented House, with a Tower upon it, which served as a *Receptacle against the next Hunting*. Here, however, 'twas proper, the Beasts should have been placed before, and prepared, and, as it were, confin'd in so many Prisons with Doors to them, which very well may have been called *Posticae*.

What regards the Stage, upon which the Martyrs were expos'd to the Beasts, that so they might be seen the better, must be understood of the Pulpit and the Bridge, mention'd in the Acts of *Santa Perpetua* and her Companions: in them we find, as a Confirmation of what is already said, that the Wild-Beasts were brought, together with the *Cavea* in which they were confin'd, on the Stage; since we learn that *Saturus* being brought bound on the Bridge, and placed before a Bear, the ²⁰ Animal would not come out of his *Cavea* to devour him.

That Passage of *Lampridius* is remarkable concerning the bad Omen which happen'd,

¹⁹ Lib. 4. *Confixilis Machina publica turris decora, futura venationis receptacula.*

²⁰ Tum ad ursum substrictus esset in ponte, ursus de Cavea pedire noluit.

264. Of AMPHITHEATRES:

because the Helmet of *Commodus* was carried out of the Amphitheatre through the Gate *Libitina*; that is, as *Dio* say through which all the dead Corps were usually carried. This Gate could be no other, I think, but one of the four lesser Entries through which they passed into the Area, and came out of it again, and must have been turned towards the *Spoliarium*, a place where they carried and stript the Bodies of the Gladiators, and which ought to have been but at a small distance from the Amphitheatre.

Cuperus, in his Book *de Mortibus*, makes a double Mistake concerning the *Spoliarium* tho' he had spoke very justly about the Bridge and Stage. *Dio* mentions *Portæ* in the plural Number, because they were obliged to pass through all the others which were that Passage or Way. We cannot believe that the Gate thro' which the Dead were carried, was one of those two which were the most noble of any, as ²¹ *Lipsius* seems to have believed; nor, that one of them would occasion an ill Omen. A pleasant Mistake in the Acts of *Santa Perpetua*, makes a new Gate in the Amphitheatre, fit for Use that we know of; and this Gate is called the *Sanavinaria*, about which *Fabius Pessino* treated, and was followed therein ²² *Grævius*. Some time ago, in the C

²¹ *Cap. 21.*

²² *Ant. Roman. t. 10. in Praef.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 265

published by me, I called it *Sandapilaria*; of which Emendation, since I saw the Canon *Mazochio*, I have now a better Opinion, he judging it to be just as I had conceived it. It might surely have been called the *Libitinenſian*, on account of the *Sandapile* or Biers on which the Corps of the Dead were carried through it.

The Wall of the Podium was externally well adorn'd with ſeveral kinds of the finer Marbles: I conceive it to have been ſo, from the many Pieces dug up at different times in the Arena, ſuch as *African* and *Serpentine*; and I conjecture it likewise from a Hint given by a ²³ Poet, who calls that Wall *Marmoreous*. As Time and the Repairings have defaced moſt of the Building, ſo has it the Wall in a particular manner, which at preſent is buried in the ground, and I have only obſerv'd a wrought Baſement, which now appears to have been on a Level with the Floor. The very Flooring of the Podium itſelf, has ſurely been paved with Marble, for it was the moſt noble Place of any; and the various Fragments of *Parian* and *African* Marble, cut thin in ſmall ſquare Dyes, which are ſometimes found, confirm it. On the Border of the Wall there was a Riſing, from which that place took the Name of *Podium*, and which ſerved by way of Ornament and Fence: 'Tis not likely that

²³ Catp. Eclog. 7.

266 Of AMPHITHEATRES

this rising Place projected from the Wall, because it would have caused so much Space in the Area to have been lost, and to those especially who beheld the Games from above; nor have we any Evidence of it, though, because *Lipſius* said it, such a signification is commonly given to the word *Podium*. Some pieces of a small Pillar of Foreign Marble have been also dug up, but not so much as might afford us to know certainly the precise Dimensions thereof, or the Form of the Ballusters which have been round it.

We must now enquire into the Manner how those, who stood in the Podium, were secure from the violence of the Beasts. *Lipſius* said, that the Ground-Plot, or lowermost Flooring, was twelve or fifteen Foot lower than it; but in this manner the Area would have been a mere Well, and a great part of it hid from those who sat at the top. We have seen already, that the Ground was no more than four Foot and a half lower than the Pavement of the Podium; there was besides, the Height of the rising Place, which may have been three Foot, or three and a half: but because a Height, between seven and eight Foot, was not sufficient to secure People from the Leap of a Tyger or a Pard; in the *Circus* in *Cæsar's* time, it was surrounded with a Paving of Iron, then with a Ditch; and in the Amphitheatre, secured with various Fences, *viz.* Nets, Spikes, and Pali-

I

fades,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 267

lades, which turned round the Nets that defended the Podium, are mentioned by ²⁴ *Pliny*, where he says, that in *Nero's* Games, they were knotted together with Gum or Rosin. They are mentioned likewise by *Calphurnius*, who says, that in the Games he had seen, they were of Gold, or gilded. By those Passages, 'tis, however, not certain, if they were Branches of Metal, or Nets of Cords; since some would not understand the *Auro torta* of *Calphurnius*, as wrought with Gold Wire. 'Tis credible, that they were raised above the small Out-buttings of the Podium; but I learn from the same Poet, the true use for which they served, namely, that there was a Range of very long Spikes joined to the Nets, in the form of Teeth, which stretched forward into the Arena, and, as I believe, bended towards it, and so contrived as to hinder the Beasts from leaping forward. Besides, there were round and moveable Staves, which prevented them from forcing their way when entangled, or from grappling and climbing. I do not, however know; whether there might not have been a Mob of *Plebeans*, who may have stood behind the Palisades to see the Games; for it happened on a certain time, that there being no Criminals condemned to the Beasts ²⁵, *Caligula* caused some Fellows that were looking

²⁴ L. 37. c. 3.

²⁵ Dio. l. 59. ἐκ τῷ ὄχλου τῷ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς περὶ τὴν σηνάτου, &c.

268 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

on to be seized, and to be made use of instead of the condemned Malefactors. I give you here the obscure Verses of *Calphurnius*, in which we learn the Nature of those Fences; nor, without a full Account of the Amphitheatre, could it be possible to understand the Verses: I have also given the ²⁶ Translation with them, by which I have endeavoured to make them somewhat clear. The fifth Verse, I read according to that most excellent Emendation of *Salmasius* on *Vopiscus*; and what ought to be understood about the Enclosure, and Portico in the first Verse, shall be very soon explained. I read *Tota* in the seventh, and *Tortis* in the eighth, because *Totis Dentibus* in this place I think seems to agree something less with the general Sense.

*Balteus en gemmis, en illita porticus Auro
Certatim radiant ! nec non ubi finis Arenæ
Proxima marmoreo peragit Spectacula Muro.
Sternitur adjunctis ebur admirabile truncis,
Et coit in rutulum, tereti qui lubricus axe
Impositos subita vertigine falleret Ungues;
Excuteretque feras : Auro quoque tota re-
fulgent*

Retia, quæ tortis in Arenam dentibus extant,

²⁶ As this Translation in Italian is a Specimen of the Author's Ability, in versification; I here subjoin it, together with the original Verses.

Dentibus

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 269

*Dentibus æquatis: & erat mihi, crede,
Lycota,
Si qua fides nostro Dens longior omnis aratro.*

*Splendono a gara il Portico e la cinta
Questa di gemme e d'or quel: non Meno
Presso al Marmoreo, dove il Campo ha fine
Muro, avorio mirabile risplende
A i pali intorno, e a formar vien Cancelli
Girevoli, ne quai Lubrico inganno
Trovan le Fiere, che afferrar non ponno
Deluse l'unghie lor dal volger pronto.
D'oro splendono ancor le reti tutte,
Che si spingon co' denti uguali e adunchi
Verso il Campo; e ogni dente [abbimi fede]
Non era Lungo men de nostri aratri.*

C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Steps, Vomitories, Benches,
small Stairs, and Wedges.*

WE come now to treat of the Inner Elevation, namely, of the whole Space around the Building, where the Spectators sat, which consists in Steps that arise and widen all around, from the Bottom to the Top of the Fabrick. This Part of our *Arena*, if we may believe most Foreigners, who have wrote of Voyages or Antiquity, is wholly preserved and entire; but the truth

270 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

truth is, that this is the only part which has altogether perished; so that at present it is quite transformed and disfigured. But not to mention the many Rocks on which those who have published Prints of Antiquities have split, their not taking notice, or distinguishing modern things, often found mixed with ancient, has above any other Particular proved fatal; by which I mean Reparations. The Steps seen at present, are for the most part modern, and all out of their true Places; because in the repairing, according to the Custom sometimes practised, not only in this Age, but at other Times too, not in our City only, but others also, never has any particular Care been taken to employ People as Overseers of the Amphitheatre, who have had skill in such Affairs. On the contrary, in the Times of our Fathers and Grand-fathers, such Persons who may have delighted in ancient Erudition, have ever been deputed for the Direction of such Matters; for the original Form and Distribution of the Parts in this Fabrick have not been observed in the Reparations, and 'tis indeed very difficult at present to trace them out. Yet for all this, a great deal may be learned, if a diligent Observation be made of the present State of the Fabrick; for in the first place, there are not a few Fragments of the ancient Steps of the Building to be seen here and there,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 271

there, mixed among those that are modern, especially in the higher Parts of the Building; by which we may learn the ancient Measures and Form: nor could this be done by any other means, since not one of them are preserved in the Amphitheatre at *Rome*.

The Steps are for the most part of red Marble, some Pieces, according to the ancient manner, very large, even eight Feet in length, and a Foot and six Inches high, two Feet and near two Inches broad; there are other two, which have the Border laid under the upper Step: the Measures agree with what is assign'd by *Vitruvius*, and 'tis easy to distinguish them from the others that are modern, particularly by the raised Border they have on each side, which Border, in the ancient Steps, rises insensibly, and terminates in a thin Edge, that fills nothing, and was sufficient to keep off the Water from running into the Frames or Joinings. Besides, they unite very exactly one with another; and the small Openings between them, in some Places, we find defended by a very fine *Stucco* plastered over them: and 'tis credible that they have been placed so as to have a small Declivity. On the other hand, the modern Steps are of a flaky Stone, most of which are not so solid and square as to have a true and sharp Edge, but exceeding rough, on the Inside, the Cavities being filled with Stones and Fragments, and now become a
Re-

272 *Of* AMPHITHEATRES.

Receptacle for Rain-water, which sometimes is very pernicious to the modern Roofs under it. Besides, there are great Crevices between the one and the other; to remedy which, according to the Custom of our Masons now-a-days, the Steps are in a very clumsy or clownish manner dabbed over with Lime and Mortar. Our present way of Plastering serves for no Use, tho' there are some who have the Secret of making Cement like that of the Ancients, which petrified.

Besides, the Stones in the modern Reparations have been so very ill laid, that not being fixed as they ought to have been, they are in several Places disjointed, and some more or less sunk downward and out of place. Nay, in some Parts the Curvature of the Oval has not been observed at all. Such is the Difference betwixt the modern and ancient Masonry. Notwithstanding all this, it does not hinder but that we have great Obligations to those who from time to time have promoted and caused such Reparations to be made; and yet let the whole be ever so indifferently performed, those deserving Citizens have at any rate kept up the internal Part of a Fabrick, that even as it is at present, according to the Opinion of Strangers or the best Sense, who see it, is one of the finest Fabricks in the World.

In order to come at a perfect Knowledge of the Manner of building Amphitheatres, we

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Of AMPHITHEATRES. 273

receive great light therein from the Openings or Out-lets placed here and there among the Steps appointed for the Spectators, and still the inner Doors of almost all of them are preserved. In the time of *Macrobius*; these Out-lets were called *Vomitarii*. *Philander* and *Lipsius* are of opinion that *Vitruvius* named them by the word *Aditus*, when he speaks of the Theatres; but in that Passage he says they were necessary to be made spacious, and with a streight Direction, and not vaulted. Now, 'tis plain, that he thereby understands the Porches, Entries, or Passages which lead to the Doors. These *Vomitories*, in the Drawing of the Arena given by *Lipsius*, and in that of the Coliseum by *Fontana*, were figured out at random. *Desgodetz* placed them very exactly in our Arena, and only committed an Error, in believing, that those below terminated in the Area, and were less than the others, tho' the internal Doors of them all are absolutely alike, and the injudicious manner of hammering sometimes the Steps before the Apertures, comes from the Repairing. They are distinct in four Rows, or we may say, Lines: and disposed something in the manner of a Chess-board, and at equal distances in proportion as the Rounds widen;

* *Sat. l. 6. cap. 4. Unde & nunc Vomitoria in Spectaculis dicuntur, ubi homines glomeratim ingredientiæ, in sedilia se fundunt. L. 5. c. 3. perpetuos & directos sine inverfuris.*

T

every

274 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

every Line has sixteen of them, so that all, they are sixty-four. In the Second, beginning from the Ground, the two are wanting, which ought to have fallen on the Point of the Oval, because the Space is taken up by the straightning of the Roof, in order to give place to the great Gate of the Field, but are replaced in the Middle, in the Breadth where two are seen very near one another instead of the one, which must have fallen in the Diameter. *Desgodetz* came near the truth even in the Situation of those of *Rome*, and would have succeeded marvellously in the whole, if in ours he had made the number of the Vomitories in the Middle full in the second Line, and also placed the sixteen in the lower Order; it being certain, that the Amphitheatre, by the Distribution of its Parts, could not be otherwise. There were but four of those Apertures which gave admittance into the Area, as we have already seen, and sixty remained for the Spectators who, though in vast Numbers, could have speedy Egress and Entrance by those six Doors.

The Steps, as may be seen by their Profile in *Plate X.* are at present forty-five in Number, distributed in the following manner: one of them is hid under ground, and fills up the lowest Vomitory. You arrive at the Mouth of the second by other six, which has three, then twelve are numbered, every

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 275

to the Foot of the third Vomitory; which comprehends four within it; there are seven; even to the fourth, which two only fill up, and five are above it. It cannot be well ascertained, how many of the ancient Steps there may have been, because of the Alteration of the Measures and other Circumstances, which we shall treat of in the Sequel: there are two more at present at the Foot, at the Top one or two less; those repaired, being kept more low, as is discerned by the Remains in several Places. However, the Diversity which we have shewn already in the Height of the Aperture, is not believed to have proceeded from the first Architect; since one cuts five Steps, another four, and another two. On the inner Side of the Gates, which are seen in every one of the four Orders, their Stairs are all equal to one another, and the Openings of them, without doubt, have been equal also; and every one in the four Steps corresponding with the Height of the Gates themselves: but by the Reparations, they have been changed in such a manner, that they cross more Steps than they ought, and sometimes fewer. The Height of the Space which runs from one Order to the other, was indeed different; the Interval, between the second and the third, encreasing ten Foot above that which went from the *Podium* to the second, and from the third to the last.

276 Of AMPHITHEATRES

We must not believe that the Steps continued from below upward always equal, as are seen at present, being interrupted by some Divisions like Steps, which were wider and higher than the others: *Vitruvius* call'd them *Præcinctiones*. *Honorio Belli*, quoted by me in the first Book, saw one in a Theatre at *Gortina*, which divided the Steps in two equal parts; in another Theatre in the City of *Litto*, he perceived three: but in Theatres, those served chiefly for holding within them Vases of Metal, in which *Belli* saw the Cells or Niches, in which they were placed.

Leon Alberti wrote very judiciously when he said, that the Ancients divided the Steps for sitting, into three parts, and that round about every one of those Divisions they had made one Step wider than the others, and that upon those Flats of the Frame, the Stairs joined; of which we shall speak afterwards. The Height of these *Præcinctiones* or Benches ought not to have been greater than their Breadth, namely, that the perpendicular Height should be equal with the horizontal Breadth; as *Vitruvius* taught, whose Text in that place was not, I believe, corrupted, as *Perault* asserts, who has translated it differently, being of opinion, that the Height of these Benches ought to have been one half less than the Breadth, tho'

* L. 5. c. 3. Neque altiores quam quantæ præcinctiois isimeris sit latitudo.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 277

many Particulars contradict this. However, what number of Benches there really were in Amphitheatres, and what their Situations were, is still to be enquired into. It seems as if they ought to have been at the Mouth of all the Vomitories, in order to give more room to the Entries; tho' our Amphitheatre preserves not the least Mark thereof, except at the Floor of the third Line, where the whole Round is deformed by a Step which is half as narrow as the others, and which serves for no purpose at all. I am of opinion that this was occasion'd by those who repaired the Building, who finding a Space here, which by one Step appeared to them too much, and by two too little, they chose an ingenious Medium, to make it one and a half. The Fasciæ of the Benches in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, were made with *Mosaic* Work, or inlaid with shining precious Stones; this I learn by the Passage of *Calphurnius*, already mentioned, where he names the Balteo or Belt incrusted with Gems; which could be nothing else but the Benches. Here, however, it seems, that such kind of Work was made on purpose, in order to add to the Magnificence of some Shew or another; or, that such uncommon Ornaments were the Reason why the Benches were called Belts. There were once Pieces of gilded Glass dug up here, which perhaps may have been made use of in the *Mosaic* Work of these Benches,

278 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

and such may have been called Gemims. The Round or Enclosure of the Podium, was as in the manner of the Benches, which in Substance corresponded with one of the Steps that was more ample and noble than any of the others: that it was not reckoned among the number of them, I learn from *Vitruvius*, where he calls that the first the *Præinjectiones*, to which they went the Steps of the first Stairs. So that, the which was at the mouth of the second Auditories, was called the first, as we may learn by the Form of the Stairs themselves but of this presently.

The Steps served for Seats, and never People to go up them; however, in order that the Spectators might go upwards, several small Stairs were cut in the Steps, which Particular has been imitated in our Reparation and likewise of these we may learn the Measure and Form, for we have several ancient Pieces of them remaining just as they had been in the old Stairs. It is easy to know every Piece by their Hollows at right Angles, as likewise in being perfectly square with a mighty fine Polish; whereas in modern they are made very clumsily. The Stairs then were in breadth two Feet and half, and required the half of the Step for the Height, and the half for the Depth; proceeding from below upwards, and from the

* L. 5. c. 3.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 279

Bench to another, by which they were separated among themselves, and the Spectators, as it were, distinguished in Troops or Companies.

From what has been said, I don't think it will now be difficult to understand that place of *Tertullian*, which has been attempted to be explain'd by many with very little Success. His Words are, *Nam apud spectacula & in via statur; vias enim vocant cardines baletorum per ambitum, & discrimina popularium per proclivum: cathedra quoque nominatur ipse in anfractu ad confessum situs.* But first, you must observe the Context: *Tertullian* shewing, that it was not lawful for Christians to be present at the Shews of the *Pagans*; and answers those who defended it, by saying, they did not see that Shews were forbid by Scripture; and insinuates, that in a certain manner such a Prohibition is found in these Words of the *Psalms*, where that Man is called blessed, *who stands not in the ways of the ungodly, or sitteth in the chair of pestilence*; and from this he takes occasion to call some places of the Theatre and Amphitheatre, *Via & Cathedra.* *Clemens Alexandrinus* made use of the same Verse as an Authority against

⁴ *Speci. cap. 20.*

⁵ *Pf. 1. 1. In via peccatorum non stetit, & in cathedra peccatorum non sedit.*

⁶ *Pad. l. 3. Hom. 6. de Pœnit.*

280 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Shews, and so did *Chrysostome*, but not in the same manner. We then see in *Tertullian*, that the Floors of the *Præcinctiones* or Benches, were called *Via*, and both in effect served for places of Passage or Thorowfares; and we also see, that in those Passages the People who came late stood on foot, their Seats having been fill'd by others. Of the two parts of the *Præcinctiones* he calls the Wall *Balteo*, Belt, or *Fascia*; it is so called likewise by *Calphurnius*, the Denomination arising from the Partition-Wall which appeared to surround the *Cavea*. The Floor he calls *Cardo*, as being that on which the Spectators turned round. Hence ⁷ *Apuleius* called the Earth itself *Cardo*. *Vitruvius*, in the place cited a little before, called the Floor the Street, tho' by another Vocabule, and the Partition-Wall *Præcinctio*. ⁸ *Bullinger* committed a double Error in placing the *Baltei* and *Cardines* in the Orchestra. ⁹ *Salmasius* on *Salinus* spoke much better; but we learn from *Tertullian*, that the Stairs were likewise called *Via*, and said by him to be Separations of the Men, or *popular Seats below and above*: So that one might suspect the under part of the Steps allotted for People of the first Rank, may not have had Stairs: but as that is not possible, and as we find it confirmed not to be so, particularly by a Passage of ¹⁰ *Su-*

⁷ *Apul. de Mundo.*

⁸ *De Cir. cap. 34.*

⁹ *P. 919.*

¹⁰ *In Dom. cap. 4.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES, 281

mius, which we shall produce in another place, we may conclude, that *Tertullian* by the word *Populares*, understood all the People placed on the Steps. Nor any where else, but by this Passage, do we learn that that Situation was called *Cathedra*, which was in *Anfractu*. *Varro* shews, that it was as much in *Anfractu* as in *Flexu*; but as the continued and circular Passage of the *Præcinctiones* had no other Turning, than where it was cross'd by the Passages of the Out-lets; so I am certain, that those were the Situations, so called, as having Seats something more convenient, which, in order not to leave those Spaces void, was usual here to be placed.

From these two kinds of Passages, namely, from the Floorings of the Benches, and of the little Stairs, the *Cunei* or Wedges were formed. There are many places in Writers, by which it appears, that the Spectators, both in the Theatre and Amphitheatre, were placed in Divisions in the form of Wedges: But of the manner how they were disposed, or the Stairs either, very few People have before now taken pains to illustrate those Particulars, nor does our Arena or Reparations afford us any help therein, in the last of which they were made at random. Yet notwithstanding this, two things seem to have pointed out to me the manner how the Wedges were placed, and the Position of the Stairs; one from *Vi-*
truvius,

282 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

truvius, the other from Medals. For in this Author I read, that the " *Cunei* or Wedges of Theatres, ought to be made in such a manner, as that *the Angles of Triangles, which fall in the Curvatures of the Round, should direct their Projection and their Stairs between the one Wedge and the other to the first Bench: And above these the Passages alternatively, and the Wedges in the middle likewise, have the same Direction.* He says also in another place, *that the Gradations of the Stairs should be directed to the first Bench, between the Wedges and the Seats of the Spectators, and that from that Bench again, among the same, the second Gradation should be directed.* Then I see on Medals, how two of the upper Stairs, which spring off from the top of the Steps, have a Vomitory in the middle, and come below, as if joining to one another, the Space between the one and the other appearing like a Wedge; but in these they know how the other Branch must have descended, widening itself in the same manner that the first grew narrow. The same is to be said of the other two that are lower; and tho' it be not my Custom to delineate any thing that I do not see myself, yet the Certainty of the Marks, compared with the Remains; these, with a little

" L. 5. c. 6. *Cunei ita dirigantur ut anguli trigonorum, &c.*

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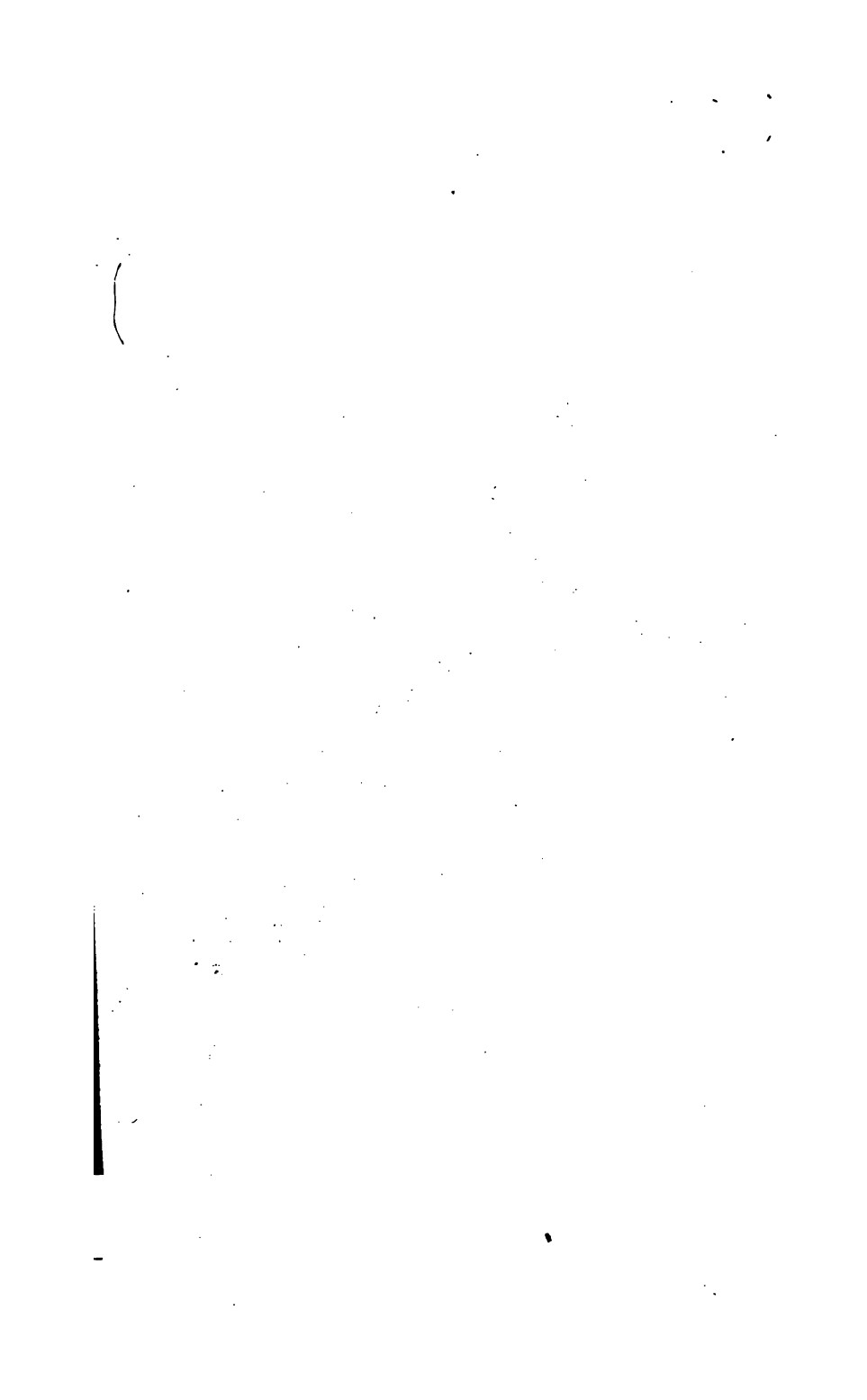
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1962

1963



Of AMPHITHEATRES. 283

Allowance, prove, in my opinion, that I have certainly found the manner how those things have been disposed. The reason why I shew the Wedges or *Cunei* in the ninth Plate, formed by the Stairs and Benches, is, because the genteel manner by which the Steps were disposed, from top to bottom, appears till this day: What regards the civil Use of these Distinctions, shall be treated of in another place. 'Tis certain, that the whole Space could not otherwise have been divided into Triangles; however, in that manner of disposing them, the Benches had some of their Bases below, others above. That the Space was divided or laid out in the form of Wedges, appears plain, for ¹² *Apuleius* says, those who could not get a place on the Marble Steps, but stood in the Passages, were *unwedged*. And when *Nero* placed Soldiers in the Amphitheatre, on purpose that every part of it should ring with Applause, *Tacitus* says, they were distributed through all the *Cunei* or Wedges. In this Plate, besides the Stairs and *Cunei* in the middle, the inner covered Ways are also represented, which we shall mention in their due place.

¹² *Florid. cap. 16. Excuneati queruntur.*

284 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

CHAP. IX.

An Explanation of the first Circuit on the Ground-Plot.

MY Endeavour to follow Order and Method, is what I propose will give me the greatest Assistance in my present Essay, which [as it is to explain the Nature of the inner part of such a magnificent Structure as an Amphitheatre, without the help of a Model] is, I think, no small Undertaking. I have therefore begun with that which first offers itself to view, and to treat of it part by part. Where, after exhibiting a general View of the Plan, I have led the Reader to the Area, and enumerated all the Passages and Gates which lead within it, then examined all that is seen from the Area: And being disengaged from speaking of the exterior and interior Uprights, what now remains is, to treat of that contain'd between the one and the other, and to describe the parts which are covered. This Particular has indeed not been hitherto sufficiently explained, for which reason the most wonderful part of the elegant Fabric still remains hid and unknown.

After we pass by the Arches of the first Enclosure, described in the Beginning, we
enter

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 285

After into the first and exterior Portico: of this, 'tis proper we should treat, before we come within. The Breadth of it, is thirteen Feet; the upper one has fourteen, gaining one by the internal Degradation of the Wall. The first Floor [as may be seen in that part which has been uncovered] was paved with very large Flags of the same Stone with the rest; the Height from it, to the Middle of the Roof, is twenty-seven Feet four Inches, and the Ceiling is wrought in the following manner: From the first Pilasters, in the Situation, above the Middle, the like Number of Arches are thrown into the Interior, (as appears in the Cut of the fifth and tenth Plates) consisting of large Stones, four Foot broad each, which is exactly the Breadth of the second Pilasters. Between the one and the other of these arched Lines, the Roof is enlaced and waved, the Wall remaining somewhat higher, and the Arcade of Marble prominent downwards in a genteel manner. The Roofs do impost, or draw in above the thickness of the Arches; the Wall of these Roofs has not any kind of Bricks in it, but is all of Stone, with such caution, that a whole one cannot be observed. Since the round and smooth Stones cannot bind with the Mortar, (for this reason, we find they drop off so very easily from our modern Walls) therefore they are broken in Splinters, so that the rough part of them fastens very well

286 Of AMPHITHEATRES

well with Mortar. The Roofs of the Coliseum are likewise of Stone, and even these immured with Arches; yet not of Marble like ours, but of hard Plaister, and riveted from one Pilaster to another.

In the second Enclosure, the Arena has two Stories, that is, two Orders of Arches one above the other, preserved all round, as may be seen in Plate the third. The Pilasters, with their Arches, and something more, are of the usual Marble. There are only three of the upper Arches that are not antique, but added, and made up about fifty Years ago; the whole Enclosure is likewise preserved. As to the Walls and Roofs, tho' they have lost the Stairs; one of them, however, [which is of the Double] has some small Steps in it preserved, and some flag Stones of the repaired Floor, and of the lateral Conduit; and is by such a Direction and sure Vestiges supplied and perfected. The Front of the Pilasters in both Stories, measures four Feet, taken at the Bottom of the Impost, and two Inches more taken at the Rise of the Arch; the Side is four Feet six. In the Ground-Plot, the Height of the Arch is eighteen Feet six, in the higher, sixteen Feet. The Impost of the Arches proceed by the same Order, with that of the first Enclosure. In it, I spoke not of the Breadth of the Gates, or, if we may say it, the arched empty Spaces; but at present we may
conclude

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 287

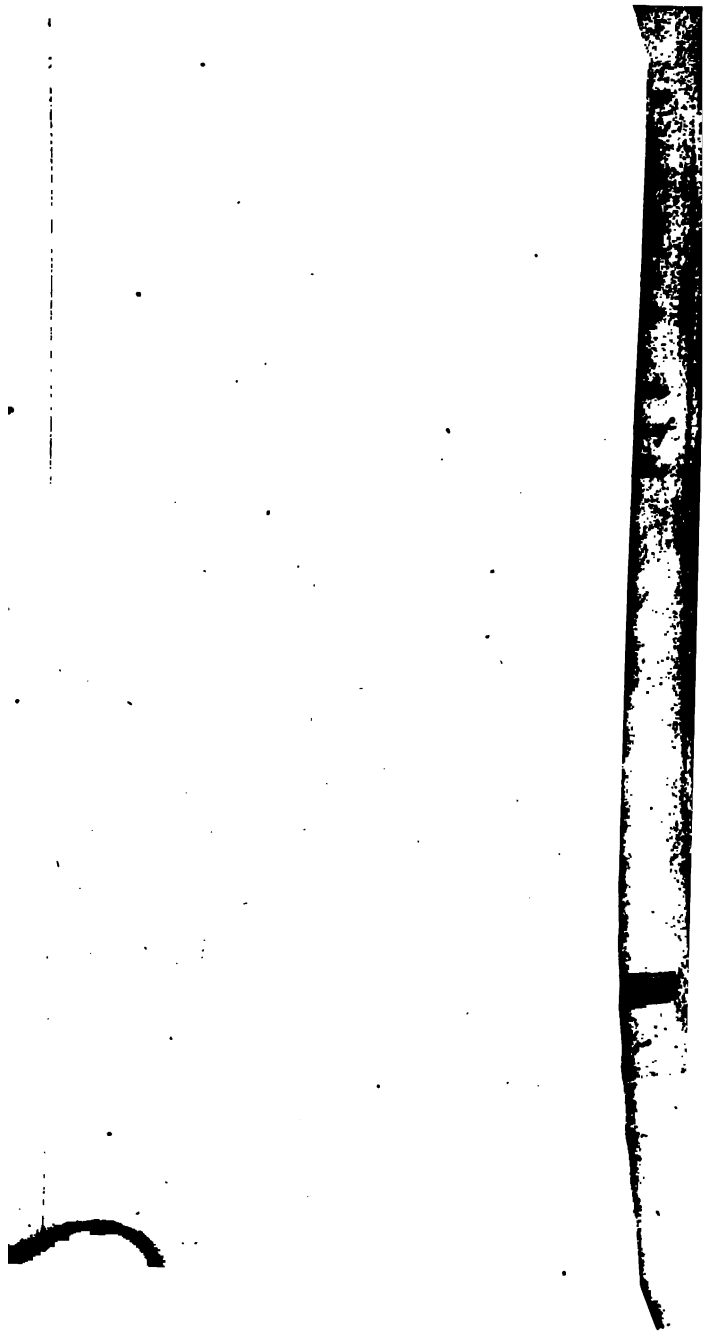
clude about them, from those of the second, which we shall consider.

In speaking about these second Doors, I enter now on the Description of those inter-Passages which could not be understood, I had first begun to have shewn the Number and Situation of the Vomitories, being Boundaries to which they are directed. The two Arches then at the end of the Orchestra, which corresponded with the Number I, and XXXVI, marked on the outside, are each twelve Feet ten Inches wide, and at the Foot of the Capital, thirteen Feet one Inch, and larger than any of the others. The two in the Middle broad-ways, which corresponded with the Numbers XIX and V, are wide twelve Feet two, and narrower than these contiguous to them on either side, the latter being larger five Inches than they; and even by that it appears how ridiculously people have imagin'd till now, that both were of the same Dimensions with the two first, and larger and more magnificent than the others. The four lateral Arches at the two greatest Gates, are less than any of the others; that which is added to the Gates, being taken from the Arches. Their Measure is between ten Feet and a half and even, the sixteen Entries on both hands, eight on each side of the two in the Middle, ofsways, are in breadth between twelve Feet three Inches, to twelve Feet six; the like.

288 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

like Number following on all the four Parts, are between eleven Feet four Inches, to eleven Feet nine; which Narrowing comes from the Elliptick Line, where it is inflected, and the Curve becomes greater. These are exactly the Measures of all the Arches, it being useless to mark the very precise Dimensions of them one by one; since we find each of them vary, and irregular by two or four Inches in their different Situations, which, however, ought to correspond exactly, and where we are sure that the error is Casual, and proceeds not from a want of Art, so that the Consumption of the Materials in the rustick Work having mouldered away with Time, hinders us from coming to a minuteness in these particulars, and even in the Coliseum, which is executed more politely; the Measures, both with regard to the Breadth and Height, vary not a little: so that *Desgodetz* asserted, that even that Amphitheatre was executed with very little exactness; but the like Incidents must necessarily often happen in such vast Edifices of Stone, wherein very many hands were employed. No Person has hitherto taken the pains to measure the Breadth of the Entries of the Coliseum, which still remain, or the others, which are now wanting; having been prepossessed in the Opinion, that they were all equal; though it is very credible, that in the greatest Inflection of any, they don't come
up





Of AMPHITHEATRES. 289

to the original Measure, and that which of the greatest Consequence of all; *Fon-
ta*, by the Prepossession he had, that the
r diametrical Gates served for the same
; and that Streets of the like Breadth cor-
responded with them; affirmed that they all
measured twenty Palms; the other seventy-
nine Palms and a third, which would
be a computable Difference for the reason
I have already mentioned.

But the Matter of Fact is, that by search-
with exactness the two Gates in the Front,
length-ways, will undoubtedly be found
larger than any of the others, perhaps two
or three Feet, and even more. But it will
be difficult to be sure of this by the
Plans, which, according to the Drawing,
seem to be remaining in the third Enclosure,
which corresponds with our second.

We shall now mention where every one
of those Entries, and the different Stairs of
the first Enclosure lead, by considering one
fourth part of the Building, since the other
three fourths are exactly alike. The cour-
teous Reader may cast his Eye on the Plan,
the tenth Plate, which shew a Section with
the inner Stairs that ne'er have been known
before, nor understood by any who have
written on the Subject of Amphitheatres. Be-
ginning from the Middle length-ways, at
number I. of it, and the other three which
show one another, we have spoke of al-
ready.

290. Of AMPHITHEATRES.

ready. At Number VI. we have a Stair of 20 Steps, interrupted by a Flat; at the end of which Stair there is a great Window in Front, which pierces through the third Enclosure, and sends Light forward. The Vault of this Space ascends even to the middle of it, then descends: the reason is, because first, there is a Stair upon it, which goes to a Vomitory of the fourth Line, then the remainder has part of the Steps upon it. Eight of the Vaults are, for the same reason, of the same figure.

The forementioned Stair proceeds doubling with two Branches of fourteen Steps on each side, then returns, and leads up to the Ambulatory. By those two Branches they pass on each hand by Doors with Architraves over them, 9 Feet 5 Inches high, wide 7 Feet 2; one Pier thereof, namely, that which would remain, joined to the inner Wall, diminishes, and seems to lose itself in the Wall, in order to leave the Door the more spacious; and, if I am not deceived, the whole is represented distinctly in the Plate. There are also four Steps which fill up the Thickness of the other Pier, expressed likewise in the Plan, which come upon the Flat of the other Branch, as we have said already.

In the fifth and seventh Spaces, there are two Under-stairs, which form Rooms; certain Conduits of Marble, which lay hid, go along

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 291

long with the Stairs near the Wall. These Troughs or Conduits served for the Urine in the higher parts of the Building: of these, several Pieces are preserved, the Breadth of which is one Foot, having discharged themselves into other Conduits under ground; of which in its due place.

There is a Passage which corresponds with the eighth Space, and goes straight, even to the inner Enclosure. The ninth and tenth have two oblong Rooms, without any other outlet. The eleventh had a Stair with an arched Window in Front, which strikes the light in another of the second Enclosure. This Stair turned straight with a square Door, like those describ'd in the double Stair, and went to the Flat by four Steps, and to the second Branch of Number XII. having a Room under it. Another Passage follows, leading to the *Podium*, like that at Number VIII. Next an oblong large Room, then a Stair with two Branches, like that we have spoke of already. The seventeenth has a Way to the *Podium*, as the two aforesaid; and the 18th a large Room, with which the fourth of the Building ends in the Ground-Plot; the diagonal Passage following cross-ways, in the nineteenth, which terminates in the third Portico, and which, on the Right-hand, has such another large Room, with a great Window, that looks above the Gallery in the middle. The Stairs appear in the Plan of

292 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

this Story, as being those which are fixed ~~in~~ the Ground. The Apertures in the ~~con-~~ tiguous Walls are likewise marked at ~~the~~ second Floor, tho' they properly belong to the second Story.

C H A P. X.

Of the second Story of the Amphitheatre, and its Plan.

AS the first Enclosure consists of ~~t~~wo Stories, so, before we proceed to ~~the~~ more inward parts, we must ascend to ~~the~~ second; and here it is where the most artful part of this Building becomes most conspicuous, and whereof, the truth is, all ~~the~~ able Architects who till now have treated on this head, have not had any right Notion at all; as may be particularly known by ~~the~~ Plans which *Desgodetz* and *Fontana* have given of the second Story of the Coliseum. For, besides the Plan's being altogether erroneous, they don't give us any hint about ~~the~~ Stairs and Passages by which they came at the Vomitories of the fourth Row, nor ~~how~~ they came out by the Stairs. In the Print I have shewn in what manner both ~~these~~ Architects understood it.


I must, however, apprise the Reader of that which cannot be expressed by the Plan, namely,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 293

namely, that there are two Pavements in the second Story, an interiour one lower, which is that belonging to all the Rooms or Inlets; that is, above which the second Branch of the Stairs lead: The other Pavement is an exterior one, higher, upon the circular covered Way or Gallery, to which you advance by new Branches of small Steps. We must likewise premise, that in this Order the Arches are not all of them of an equal height, there being eight which exceed the others by three Feet, namely, the four diametrical Arches, and other four in the middle of these; and yet not exactly in the middle, since between the one in the middle, length-ways, and the other middle one, cross-ways, there are seventeen Arches. Hence there are eight which remain on each side of that in the middle, where the highest Arch we have mentioned, leaves seven on the side near the Breadth, and nine on the side towards the length.

But now let us begin from the lowest inner Floor, upon which all the second Branches of the Stairs rest, shewn in the Ground-Plot, and let us proceed from Number V. in order to humour the Bending of the Stairs; the Knowledge of which, I believe, will be much facilitated by the Shafts which shew their Extension. See likewise at Number V. in the Plan of the second Story, that the left Branch of the double Stair takes its beginning

294 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

from a Flat, which finds an Aperture on the Right-hand thereof. This Aperture represents a round Gate, in height 10 Feet 6, broad 7 Feet, which may be observed  it is exactly in the 10th Plate, which you must have here before you. By it you go through a Passage which takes up the Space of Number IV. the Pavement of which is shewn in the said Plate, by a Part not shaded, which distinguishes it. At the Bottom of the Passage, there is the inner Gate of one of the Vomitories of the third Round, with six small Steps, which are preserved here in several places, and are shewn in the Drawing. In the same manner you go to all the Mouths or Openings of the third Line; that is, that most of all the Doors of the Entries are likewise preserved in the high parts, and are uniform in all the four Rows; high 7 Feet 9 Inches, wide 6 Feet 6, and all of Stone: the Pavement is all of large Flag-stones; the six first Stairs are almost all of red Marble, which ascend from them to come out again in the Stairs; they are one Foot broad, high 10 Inches.

The same Passage, over-against that by which we enter, has another square Gate, 7 Feet 6 Inches high, allowing for the Threshold, there remaining 7 Feet which admits Light, with a Breadth of 4 Feet 4, all of huge Stones, about 4 Feet in bigness.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 295

ness. Through it we pass into the third Space, where there is a Room, in form like the anterior Passage, but shut up at the top, and from which you go through a round and lesser Door, without Pilasters of Stone, into a broken Chamber, which perhaps had Light from a Window which might have been in the Wall, and shut up on the outside; but these Walls are all destroy'd. These two Rooms, with their Doors, could not be shewn in the Plate; but it was of consequence to shew the Stairs, with their Passages and Places of Retreat.

But here we must remember, that of these three Gates, the first, which from the Flat goes in length along with the Passage, has no Marks of ever having had Imposts, nor any other Enclosure; but the other, which leads into Rooms, appropriated either for laying any thing up in them, or for some other particular Use, has two round Holes in the Stone of the Threshold, near the Side-Posts, one on each hand, and two others correspondent with them, in the Traverse above; which shew, that in them the Hinges of two parts of the Gates turned: that is, two round Pieces of Wood or Metal, which entered above and below in the Holes, and turned round, causing the Imposts to play. By this we discover the manner of the ancient Imposts, called *Postes* by the *Latins*, and the true Signification of the words *Cardo*

296 Of AMPHITHEATRES

and *Polus*, in Greek *τροπεύς*, which is as much as to say, a Thing capable of turning; *Rutulus*, in the ancient Glossaries. However, *Vitruvius* calls those *Cardines*, round which we imagine the World turns, by the Greeks called *Poles*; for which reason, *Isidorus* called a *Cuneus* or Wedge, the Hinge.

But let us return to Number V. From that Flat, going straight forward, we ascend by six Steps up to the circular Portico; and turning to the Right, we observe first, that in the inner side, between the Pilasters which correspond with the two foremention'd Rooms, the Mark of a Wall or Pavement, about half the height of a Man, which enclosed them, appears; being instead of a Parapet, leaving a free Passage above for Light. Then at Number II. we find a Stair, with two Branches, the first consisting of six small Steps, the other of eight, both hollowed out in the breadth of the same Space. This Stair leads into the little Room which is above the great Gate, where the Arch is highest; tho', for all that, the Roof is not higher, but only the Arch, which, contrary to the others, concentrates in the Wall, and thereby makes three Feet more of Light. In the inner Point of that Chamber, there is the Gate, with little Steps which lead into that Vomitory of the fourth

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 297

Line, situated on the end of the Oval. On the outside of the same Room we see the beginning of a Vault, which has gone upwards, with the Vestiges of the Stair upon it, and a Gate in it of sufficient height on account of the Arch, which, as we have said, rises here more than the others. Where that Stair led, we shall mention afterwards.

We shall now only observe, that one of the four exterior Arches of this second Floor, which by good luck are preserved, gives us plainly to understand, that in these eight Situations, there have been Partition-Walls of Marble on each hand, which crossing, took the Stair up in the middle, and run from the Pilasters of the first Enclosure to those of the second, since we see the Capital cut in the middle on the inside, and the Stones cheffeled and made smooth, appearing to have been joined with each other. We have likewise Marks that these Walls of Partition had Arches, or a Door, in the middle, for passage. But besides, we see, that from the Partition-Walls made of the same Stones, the empty Space of the external Arch was shut up in Front; and that the said Wall was no more than one Foot in breadth, and situated at the middle of the Pilaster. So much we learn from the Capital of the same Pilaster being cloven and laid open: The Plan, however, has been supplied here, where these Traverses are shewn, and the Stairs pointed

298 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

pointed out, of which sure Evidences and Vestiges are found.

Having describ'd the first five Spaces of the second Story, we shall now proceed to the seventh; in which a Flat appears, the Right-hand Branch of the double Stair leading thereto, and has a Door on the Left. Those that were to return to the third Order of the Openings, enter'd by it, and found the Disposition of the Parts there like that at Number IV. and whoever was to ascend to the last Order of the four Openings, went up upon the Portico, and in the nearest Space on the Right-hand, found a Stair which has a Door at the end thereof, and likewise the Out-let of the Vomitory. This Stair falls on that of the middle of those which are double. At Number IX. there is nothing, the great Room of the Ground-Plot being at its full Height, even to the Roof or Vault which supports the Steps. In the Walls of these Laterals are two Hollows placed perpendicularly, which serve by way of Conduits for conveying away all manner of Nastiness, and for the Water which fell on the Roof of the high Lodge; where large Pipes of Metal have been found. The Marks and Vestiges of the Wall, which served as a Fence to those who walked on the Portico, are seen every where. After the forementioned small Steps of Number VII. which bended towards the left, passing by two Spaces

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 299

Spaces above the Portico, in the tenth we find a Stair with two Branches, like that of Number II. only that it bends to the Right, this to the Left. The Remainder of this Space is without any Pavement, like the next of Number IX. By the said Stair we enter into a small Room. Number II. is like that of Number I. with the Door of a Vomitory on one hand, a Stair on the other, which ascended towards the first Enclosure, and also between two Walls. These Separations divided the exterior Portico into eight parts, all of them like that already described.

Number XII. has the second Branch of a plain Stair, from the Flat of which, turning to the Left-hand by an arched Door, we enter into a Room directed to one of the third Vomitories; and ascending above the Portico, one might pass thro' both to the Stair at Number X. and by passing the Door cross-ways, to the Stair, Number XV. like that of Number VI. both of which lead to the Opening of the last Order. The fourteenth Space is at its full height, like that of Number IX. Number XVI. leads both to the Opening of the third Line, which is on its Right-hand, and to that of the fourth on its Left. The eighteenth is an empty Space at its full height. In the nineteenth the Arch turns higher, and the little Room also, which has Stairs on each hand. Thus have we discussed what belongs to the second

300 *Of* AMPHITHEATRES.

cond Story, and shewn all the Stairs which lead to the two last Rows of the Vomitories and likewise to those high Parts which were above the Steps.

C H A P. XI.

Of the interior Covered Ways, and the Enclosure of the Middle.

THE Section of the largest Passage given in *Plate IX.* shews that after the three Arches above the isolated Pilasters there follows another, a Foot higher and two broader. Through it we enter into the middle Ambulatory, the Roof of which is 28 Feet high. The Pavement was laid with Flags of the usual kind of red Marble, ten Inches thick; and there are still several square pieces remaining above the Conduit under ground. In this Covered Way, on the part towards the outside, there are first of all the Out-lets, with Architraves over them; or the Doors of the Passages already mentioned; the Pilaster has 4 Feet on each side: Next follows the Void or empty Space of only 4 Feet 10, for the aforesaid reason which occasions the two lateral Passages to have so small an Opening, and are contiguous to the great ones. The second empty Space is 7 Feet, partaking also somewhat

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 301

of the Narrowing. Next, is another Door, 9 Feet wide, through which goes the Passage towards the Center. Then follows a Wall corresponding with the three Spaces of the double Stair: then another Door, through which another Passage goes: After that a Wall, through four Arches; then another Door, and so goes on, even to the Door in the middle; cross-ways; broad 10 Feet 4, which is one Foot 10 Inches less than the outer one correspondent with it, on account of the Lines that approach, and which proceed to a Point. The external Side of this second covered Way, may be observed exactly delineated in *Plate IX.* a part of it being in the middle of the Area, and another part on each side of the *Cunei* or Wedges.

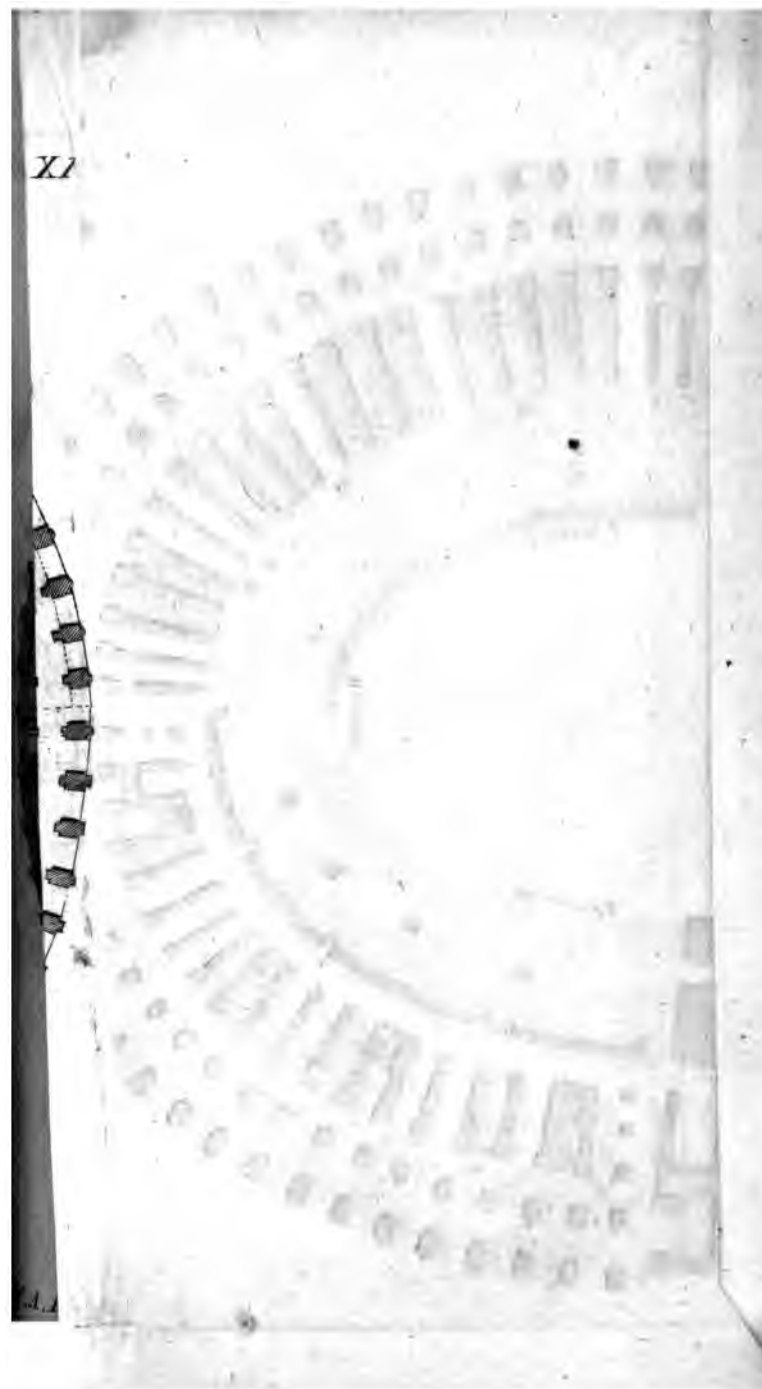
All these Doors from the ancient Pavement to the Arch cross-ways, which is of very small Curvature, are 20 Feet 8 Inches high; so that the Posts or Piers made of large Stones go higher than the foot of the Roof, which extraordinary Height serves to give greater Light to the Portico. But we must not neglect mentioning the Windows which are in two Rows, some on high at the Bending of the Roof, and square with the great Stone above, sloping. Of these we have made mention, speaking of the second Branches of the Stairs: They receive Light through an Arch of the second Story, and with the

302 *Of AMPHITHEATRES.*

Direction of that sloping Stone, sends it in a very curious manner into the Rooms, or Prisons; which are on the other side of the Portico, as we shall afterwards mention. There are others somewhat lower, and arched at the top, and much larger than the others; every first outer Stair one of these corresponds and are found opposite to every Stair of the other inner Circuit. These, for the most part, have been lately fill'd up; the Passage being likewise shut up with Walls, in order to make these places useful.

But to return, in order to observe the other side of the Portico, the Drawing of which is seen in the same Plate, from the part opposite against the Wedges. At the beginning of it there is the Wall of a Room, which has its Entry on the other side, and on this has only a high and narrow Window, or a Slit as we shall call it: Then there is a Gate with an Architrave, through which you pass into the third Portico, and is as high as that which corresponds with it in its Front. Next follows a small Room, which shews that it was made use of for a Prison, but not for Wild Beasts, because it has the Door too narrow, and this is form'd by four pieces of Stone, of which, that which makes the Traverse above is two Feet high, and enters into the Wall taking up much more Space than the Door. In the higher part the Architrave follows; under it is a Window of this Prison, one Foot wide.

XI





Of AMPHITHEATRES. 303

wide and three high, and in this comes the Light from the Window which is opposite to it, with the Pavement above over-hanging. These Doors have a round Hole in the Threshold, and another above, into which the Poles of the Impost entered. Next is another Door of the usual Height, with a Stair consisting of ten Steps, upon which is the inner Door of an Opening of the second Row, and beyond it other eight small Stairs, which have the *Præcinctio* or Bench above it. The Window above that Stair throws the Light in, and is on the other side a little lower and arched. The rest goes all on in the same manner, divided into Prisons, Passages and Stairs, with the same Distributions of Light. But the Plan and View of the inner and hidden covered Ways, makes every thing sufficiently understood. The twelve Prisons have all the Doors in the second Ambulatory, without any manner of Out-let on the part towards the Area. There is also a small Loop-Hole besides the Slip of the Window, which was cut through above the Steps; the manner of which may be observ'd in some small ancient Pieces which have such round Holes. As to those few rough Steps, now misshapen by the North Winds, I remember a good many Years ago, having by chance gone into the Arena; I just came in time to hinder, as it were, by mere Force, the Destruction which the Masons were about

304 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

to make of them, who had resolv'd to remove them and put new ones in their place. I was equally lucky on another occasion, in hindering them from demolishing the small pieces which remain'd of the highest Rock of all, and from boring, in a cruel manner the lower Vaults in sixteen places, as some ingenious Engineers had resolv'd to do, that so they might make use of it for a certain Affair of their own. But to proceed: We must take notice, that the Passages, as well as the Doors and Rooms, do not little encrease in breadth, as they come towards the middle, being much wider than towards the Point of the Oval. The little Doors, however, of the Rooms or Grottoes keep all the same Measure and Form, which is a Confirmation that they were Prisons for those condemn'd to the Beasts. I don't know in what other place so many and so large pieces of the ancient Walls of the Romans are preserved: so that here, better than any where else, we can see the manner of their Building. They are built of Stones, but all broken; the Mortar is mixed with, and full of Pebbles or small Stones: However, in that Passage of *Thucydides*, quoted in the second Chapter, I have explain'd it ^a *Ghiais*, where others have not well translated it *Pieces of Stone*. This Cement or Mortar, is become so solid, as even to exceed Marble itself in

^a χαλιξ, rendered, *Frusta Lapidum*.

hardness:

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 305

hardness: this we are confirm'd in by considering the marvellous Duration of the four Pieces which belong'd to the outer Roof, discovered on the falling down of the higher parts, which for so many Ages had bore the many heavy Rains which have beat against it, and the Injuries of the hard Frosts. The Stones are not continued from above downwards, but at the distance of every Yard there is a Course of Pilasters, with three Rows of large, broad, four-corner'd Stones, alternately. This Order is kept every where, so that the whole Wall, by these different Strata, as we may say, is better lined and kept strait; and the truth is, our modern mishapen Walls make at the best but a very dull Figure, whereas in ancient times, the Walls as well as Roofs were made politely, nay, and painted too, as appears by the Remains of the Colours found upon some parts of the inner Roofs. In *Rome*, in the middle Passage of the Amphitheatre, not only have the Remains of ancient Painting been seen, but other genteel Ornaments of Stucco also.

We must not forget to observe, that at the top of the Pilasters we find one particular Stone at every Door, larger than any of the others, and which enters two Feet within the Wall, and serves for the better binding and fixing the whole together. In the Doors towards the inner side, these Key-Stones are not at the top, but a little above

306 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the middle. Nay, in the Windows also which have the hanging *Lastra*, and send the Light into the Prisons, there are two such Stones, but formed like half the Tail of a Swallow, and appear, as it were, like Wings to the other.

After this, is the third Portico, but not near so low as is represented in the many Drawings we have of it, but of the proper Height of twelve Feet; in it, from the side towards the Area, there is nothing besides the forementioned Apertures, four of which led into the Area through a hanging *Lastra* and twelve on the Podium by five small Steps. On the other side, there are only the Doors corresponding to the sixteen Passages and two more for the middle Ways in the Breadth, which, in the last Enclosure, have not an Opening leading to the Podium, as the others, but only an oblong Window high on the Wall, which comes out on the Steps in order to supply the dark part of it with Light; but we cannot give its precise Form, because in the Reparations both the parts have been altered.

The Doors which are in this inner Ambulatory are six Feet high, and in the middle at the Key-Stone or Quoin, they are raised six Inches more: Those in the middle are nine Feet three Inches wide, the two nearest nine Feet, the others something less. They are composed of five pieces of Marble, tw

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 307

Of which make the Rows of Pilasters, which are large two Feet in square, some three, and the Architrave three. There is a current Opinion among Architects, that whatever is made with an Architrave will with Age fall to the ground; but I think they never can happen, where they are made like these Outlets we have described: for the Key-Stone in the middle is wedged, and, as we say, Swallow-tail'd. The two Stones on each side are 2 Feet 7 long, so that there remains 4 Feet and a half on each hand, on the out-side of the Pilasters, imbedded in the Wall: The eight that are near the two ends of the Oval, as the Traverse of one piece only, and this is the four through which the Passages go, which is represented in *Plate IX.* as is a Stone 12 Feet in length, the Square of it two Feet and a half thick. Tho', if now-a-days our Master-builders were to place such Pieces in that Situation, it would, I own, puzzle them a little. Not one of these Architraves is broken in the middle, tho' ⁴ *Vasari* says, all those of ancient and modern Stones are commonly so; at the same time he proposes a very good Method for keeping them from breaking, and the truth is, he gave a very good Example thereof in the beautiful Building of the *Ufizi* in *Florence*. Of this Fabric, those who have had occasion to mention it, or to make a Draught of it, have not ob-

⁴ *Introd. cap. 3.*

308 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

served what was most wonderful, that the Front, all around, is out of the Perpendicular; yet, for all this, neither is it perceptible to the Eye, nor does it prejudice the Firmness thereof; in so much that another Story being afterwards placed above it, and some hundreds of Marble Busts and Statues, yet no part thereof has moved.

With regard to the inner and solid Enclosure, we have said enough already. The Doors which led the Spectators of the greatest Note, by means of five Steps on the Podium, were neither higher than those in the upper part of the Building, as one might believe by observing more Steps cut by their Openings at present, than what is observed by the other Doors; nor were they less, as *Desgodetz* and others have asserted, by imagining, without any Ground, that they served for the Admission of the Wild-Beasts; and also because, before these Doors the Steps, by the Fault of the Repairers, are hampered at present; tho' at first they have all been equal to the others of the Vomitories, and of the same Form too. This Enclosure had no other Doors, nor in it any nearer Rooms, or any kind of empty Space, as has been hitherto believed; and it was so far from being contrived that the Beasts might come out from it into the Area, that the five small inner Steps discovered at present, by which they ascended to the inner Doors, shew clearly how it was anciently made, and the Method used in the Shews.

But

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 309

But we must not forget, by recapitulating at present, that the inner part of the Amphitheatre had 66 Entries, including the two great Gates. Of these, the six lowermost at the ends of the Oval, served for the Actors, and led into the Area or Field. The other 60 were appropriated for the Spectators, and had all different ways, disposed in the following manner: Twelve strait Passages led to an equal number of Openings above the Podium, which crossed the Portico's and Enclosures from the exterior Arches: The Stairs consisted of five Steps. In like manner the two diametrical Passages led thither, cross-ways. Those who were obliged to come out by the Openings of the second Row, by entering through the 16 Passages which were disposed at equal Distances; (nay, there were 18, including the two in the middle, broad-ways:) did not go further than the second Portico; but finding therein the 16 Stairs of the second Enclosure, they ascended straight to their Outlets or Openings. All those to whom the Wedges or *Cunei* were assigned, which were correspondent to the Openings of the two higher Rows, found their Stairs in the outer Portico, eight of which were single, the other four double. Whoever was obliged to come forth from the third Row, by ascending two Branches of a Stair, remained in the lowest Floor of the second Story, and in the nearest Space to that, found the Door and Steps thereof: But those who

310 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

were to go on to the 16 Openings of the fourth Round, went up above the Covered Way or Gallery, and came out on the Steps two Ways: others, by the eight nearest and straight Stairs; and others to the eighth, in two several divided Branches, and entered into the high little Rooms which had the Vomitorie at the top of them. In fine, those who had the places assign'd them, which were higher than all the Steps seen at present, entered into the little Closets, but then proceeded forward, ascending by those eight Stairs which crossed the interior *Ambulacrum*, which we have shewn in the eleventh *Plate*.

We must not forget, that there were sixteen long Rooms, some of which were at their full Height in the first Enclosure, besides eight smaller ones under the Stairs; and likewise twenty-eight Prisons with narrow Entries, and four Rooms with proportionate Doors in the second.

I shall now lay before the Reader some of the most considerable Differences which may be seen in most of the Plans and Descriptions given hitherto of the Amphitheatre; not, however, with a Design to derogate in the least from the Praise, which I willingly, and in the fullest manner, shall give those who have laboured on this difficult Subject; but my Intention herein, is to give a right Impression of the true Symmetry thereof, and to confirm what I have already asserted in

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 311

in this Treatise; tho', I believe, it would be superfluous to mention the Authors who have wrote on this head, and yet have not understood Architecture. *Lipsius* and *Montaucon* happily discussed the whole Difficulty relating to the Stairs, by saying only two words on the head; one, by the single Expression *' decussantur*, that the Stairs crossed one another; which, the truth is, they never do. The other, by saying they went up to the Vomitory by *' hidden Passages*; tho' they are, by the by, all of them spacious and noble, *Desgodetz* likewise, who has succeeded therein better than any of the other Architects, shews in his Section of the Coliseum, as well in the first as in the second story, the Crossings of Stairs; which, by the by, not only would confound the Oeconomy of the Building, but spoil the better part of it. Nor am I certain that *Serlio* drew it in that manner, giving no hint thereof in what he himself says on the Subject; but what appears to be so in his Book, is occasioned rather by the Errors of those who engraved his Plates; since there never could have been Stairs which meet one another, nor could ever the Foot of the Stairs, in the Gallery, in the middle, proceed towards the outer part of the Building; by which People would have been obliged to have come forward, and

⁵ Cap. 21. *Decussantur*.

⁶ Tom. 3. p. 259. *Per occultos meatus*.

312 Of AMPHITHEATRES,

then to return back again. . So that the Assertion of * *Desgodetz* was but ill grounded, when he said, that in the Stairs of the first Enclosure, they entered not only from the second Gallery, or Covered Way, but also from the third ; which is as much as to say, the first and second in our Arena. There would not have been much to be learned from the Architecture of the Amphitheatre, if [as they have hitherto made People believe] in so many places there had been two Stairs, one against the other, made in an useless manner, to proceed, all of them, towards the same Point. So likewise in the Drawing of the Amphitheatre of *Capua*, the Stair at the Letter E, made to go backward, is not right ; nor is the rest done with greater Correctness, the whole being copied from the Imagination of *Lipsius*. Above all, it is wonderful, that no body has shewn the manner how People were led to the Openings of the third and fourth Rows, nor the Distributions of the Passages belonging to them.

Desgodetz, in his Plan, distinguishes the Stairs that go upwards, and others which go down, as if they were not all of them originally designed for leading the Spectators up to the higher parts of the Building ; and says, that the Light on the middle Gallery, or Covered Way, comes from certain Slips of Windows. But those Windows he points out, in imitation of *Serlio*, in the middle of

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 313

the Gallery itself, were not made to give Light; because, scarcely is there any thing remaining to be illuminated by them, by reason of the great Height where they are placed, and the small number that there are of them: Tho' I own, they are made to reflect the Light on the Prisons, and on the Stairs that are more forward; the Gallery itself receiving Light from the many and high Inlets or Doors in it. At the Opening or Mouth of all these Inlets in the Gallery, in the Plan of the Arena, he makes Steps, which neither are, or ever could have been: As, in like manner, in the first Enclosure, he made all the Stairs double, when one only in the fourth Round is so.

Then with regard to the second Story, which, by curious Enquiry in the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, might make the whole plain and intelligible; neither does he give a Plan thereof, nor mentions a word about it, tho' he does about that of the Coliseum, but has been far from consulting truth therein; and yet that is the very part which he ought to have considered more diligently than any. For the greatest Difficulty in this Building, consists in well understanding in what manner People went up to the higher parts of it, and how the Passages were so contrived as not to cross one another. Besides, he marks out a Stair cross-ways, upon the third Space of the middle Enclosure, which agrees not with the

314 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the Symmetry of the Building, nor in that Situation or Manner could it have stood there. In the first Enclosure he entirely omits all the oblong Rooms, which served for useful Repositories; for where could they otherwise have laid up so many wooden Utenfils, Instruments and Accoutrements, which were necessary in the Shews? Nay, ' *Vitruvius* speaking of the Theatres, says, that in such places they had Magazines of Necessaries from the City. In the second Enclosure, instead of Prisons he shews many Outlets into the inner Portico; which would indeed have been useless, since two uniformly alike, near one another, are seen no where. In the *Roman* Amphitheatre, he makes the diametrical Passages come cross-ways into the Area, which is repugnant to the nature of the thing, for many reasons, as is already shewn. So that as well in that of *Rome*, as the other of *Verona*, he makes the Vomitories lower than they should be, leaving out every where the Steps which led to the Podium, without having considered that it was necessary likewise that they should have ascended or entered somewhere; and that by assigning all these Openings to the Area, the Podium which was the most noble place of any, remains consequently without any Entry at all. Nor was it convenient to descend to it from the second Row of Vomitories, and from the Steps, since even the very lowest Rank of

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 315

the People were never obliged first to go up, and then come down again.

These Remarks I have made about *Desgodetz*, because I have found him, notwithstanding what has been said, more deserving Consideration than the others; most of the other Books wrote on this head being, as it were, wrote at random, and as their Fancies have led them. So that from what has been said, we may gather, if I am not mistaken, how remote the Study of Antiquity is from that Degree of Perfection to which it is commonly believèd, and as the many splendid Volumes commonly shew it; by which that kind of Merchandise is current every where, spreading its Gloominess over the Globe.

C H A P. XII.

Of the higher Stories on the inner Side of the Building.

THE Essays hitherto made by Authors on the Subject of Amphitheatres, have been very commendable; and a fine thing it is, to represent those Parts of the Fabric, which tho' not subsisting at present, have however left behind them manifest Evidences and Marks, that they have been. But what shall we say at present, when we are forced to attempt the Description of those highermost Rounds or Enclosures which appear no more, and in the

316 Of AMPHITHEATRES,

the Situations of which, there remains nothing but Air, incapable of having any Mark left in it at all?

In treating of this, it is necessary, first of all to direct our Thoughts on the Amphitheatre of *Rome*, in which a Method is left to find out some Traces of it, and thereby gather Conjectures about that of *Verona*.

That the Coliseum had likewise within it other Stories, erected proportionately above the Steps of which we have already treated, the outer parts thereof plainly indicate; but how and in what manner they have been, is not possible to ascertain wholly.

In Prints, the truth is, we have no more to desire that way, since there have been several Designs published, which shew the Inside without any Want at all. Among others, we see those of *Lipsius* and *Fontana*, tho' the fact is, they are all Chimæra's; it being undoubtedly certain, that the inner and higher parts of the Building must have been exceedingly different from what they have imagined about them. But laying aside any other Arguments on this head, it is manifestly certain, that the most wonderful part of this Edifice consisted in the inner side, being all Front, the whole Space from top to bottom being divided among the Spectators. But, according to the Fabrics made with the Pen by the forementioned able Men, no less than the half would have remained filled

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 317

filled up by a blind Wall, like the common Views we have of Houses and other Buildings. These Authors had no further Consideration about the vast number of Spectators which flowed into the Amphitheatre, nor about the Impossibility that so many could have been contained upon, or in the Steps hitherto described.

We read in *Publius Victor*, that the Coliseum contained eighty-seven thousand places within it; some Texts have seventy-seven thousand: *Lipsius* imagined it ought to be understood of the known Steps only; but we have observed already, in Chap. II. that the Steps of our Arena admitted no more than twenty-two thousand People to sit on them; nor could a greater number be contained there of old. Now, calculating with Exactness according to the Measures on the Steps of the Coliseum, and even allowing a great deal in that Calculation, within the *Cunei* or Wedges of the *Roman* Amphitheatre, no greater number than about thirty-two or thirty-four thousand People could have been contained. So that, if *Victor* did not stretch the number a little too much, we must conclude that about fifty thousand had places in the higher part of the Building, and on the Steps which we see at present. The upper part of the Amphitheatre, 'tis certain, contained a great number of Spectators; nay, much more than

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318 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

what had Seats on the Steps, as will appear: But they could not have been contained there, if, according to the Ideas of our Antiquaries, the two Stories above had been built inwardly; for in that manner, very few People could have been placed, the greatest part of the Situation lost, and the extreme Height of such a Pile have three Fifths of it rendered of no use at all.

To pretend to explain precisely the Form and the Particulars of the inner sides of these two Stories, is vain to imagine; but with regard to the Structure or Building in general, we know where to recur with certainty, namely, to Medals; to which those who have wrote about Amphitheatres ought to have had recourse, and not to Invention. From the top of the Steps to the exterior Enclosure in the Coliseum, there was the Space of two ample Portico's. We see, however, in the Medals of *Plate I.* that on one of them there were new Rows of Steps, which filled up the highest places; for the small Globes mark'd out in them, represent Spectators. The Prints, on the other hand, would make us believe, that a Partition-Wall was erected, with Windows and Doors, above the third Wall. ¹ *Apuleius* mentions Windows, Pillars, and Statues on high in the Inside; but in this Passage he speaks of a Theatre, and indeed there are several things in his fictitious Ac-

¹ *Lib. 3.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 319

counts, that we ought not to regard : For he makes his Theatre to have had Drainers for Water, and a Roof ; and, in another place, exhibits ^a Shews of Wild-Beasts in it. Of such Partition-Walls, with Windows in the Amphitheatre and Doors, we have not the cast Mark of them in any Medal whatsoever ; but however, we may gather from the first three, which were coined at a time when Arts flourished, and which shew Distinction and Perspective ; that in these Steps, tho' much fewer in number, there was Place for a considerable Body of People, and perhaps not few less than what were contained in the Places already described : and this, not only on account that these Rounds or Seats mentioned last, extended more in Breadth than the former, but because we see no kinds of Vacancies in them at all ; whereas in the lower a great deal of room must necessarily have been lost by the Apertures, the small stairs, the *Præcinctiones* or Benches, and the two great Doors. 'Tis moreover credible, that these Steps highest of all, were less commodious, and therefore less, and nearer one another, than those below, being only appropriated for People of the lowest Rank. On the outer side of the Coliseum we see some Openings, alternately placed between the Pedestals of the fourth Story, which may have given Light to some small Covered Way

^a Lib. 10.

320 Of AMPHITHEATRES

or Gallery, appointed for the Passage of the Workmen, who in numbers went to the top of the Building, to manage the Curtain or Pavilion.

The other Space, which came to fall on the first Portico, was filled up by a Round of large Covered Lodges, in which a great number of people were contained; as we may understand by the very great Enlargement of the Round, and likewise by the Height, in which the fourth Story, at least, in the Coliseum, exceeded greatly any of the other three, as we have seen already. So that it is probable, that the Roofs of these Lodges were under the great Windows which we see in the fourth Story of the Coliseum; so that both Air and Light might come into it, when the Amphitheatre was covered. For my part, I dare not however affirm it, for the Medals seem as if they came up even to the very Top of all.

That the highest part of the Amphitheatre, where the Spectators stood, was covered, is confirm'd by a Passage of *Calphurnius*, among the others, which we very soon shall mention in the next Chapter. In this part the Amphitheatre was like the Theatre of which *Vitruvius* names, *the Roof of that Portico which comes to be above the highest Gradation*. Of such a Portico, and of such Lodges, *Dio* is to be understood according to *Xiphiline*, where he says, that in the Games exhibited

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 321

exhibited by *Nero*, by way of a feigned Honour done in memory of his Mother, who was murdered, an Elephant ³ *was drawn up to the upper Roof of the Theatre, and from it was brought down by Ropes, carrying a Man on its Back.* Whether this wonderful Fact was performed in the Theatre or Amphitheatre, *Xiphiline's* method in using that word, sometimes for the one, sometimes for the other of these Buildings, leaves us in doubt: But be that as it will, the Version made of *Dio* into *Latin*, makes the thing too wonderful; for, according to it, the Elephant was not drawn up to that terrible Height, but went up to it on foot; not by Ropes, but by walking *upon a Rope.* Hence some have understood, that *the walking Elephants on Ropes*, according to *Suetonius*, shewn for the first time by *Galba*, did dance upon these Ropes. In the *Greek* the plural Number is used; and so does *Pliny*, when he writes, that the Elephants were taught to ⁴ *walk upon Ropes.* Perhaps there may have been several Ropes joined together, which formed a Plain, or Floor, sufficient for these huge Animals to walk upon: But, be that as it will, that which the Historian relates about

³ Lib. 61. Ἐλέφας ἀνέχθη ἐς τὴν ἀνωτάτην τῆ θεάτρης ὀψίδα, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὅτι χοινίων κατέστραψεν ἀναβατὴν ὄψιν.

Elephas introductus in Theatrum in summum ejus forn-
ascendit, atque inde vehens hominem in fovee ambulavit. item

⁴ Lib. 8. c. 2. & 3. Per funes incofère adverfi funibus.

322 Of AMPHITHEATRES

Nero's Shews, was wery wonderful, with regard to the great Height thereof.

At present I shall mention what will be entirely new to many, who think that the top of the Colonades was Composite, *viz.* that the interior Parts of these two Stories we have described, that is, the Steps and Lodges, were of Wood. *Tarquin* gave a Sample of such a Structure in the Circus; having, as *Dionysius* asserts, made the lower Seats of Stone, the upper of Wood. By this we come to understand those Passages of *Dio*, *Lampridius*, *St. Jerom* and other Writers, quoted in the first Book; in which we read, that Conflagrations sometimes happened in the Amphitheatre; because, had the Building in every part been of the same Matter with what remains, it never could have been set on fire. Hence it is that *Dio* expressed, in the great Fire mentioned in another place, that the Amphitheatre itself did not burn, *but all the upper Round of it*, together with what were not Parts of the Amphitheatre. That Fire is described by the Historian as so very violent, that it could not have certainly happened, and continued to be so raging, but where there was a vast Quantity of Wood. From that Passage it likewise appears, that the number of Spectators, asserted by *Victor*, could not have been all

¹ *Lib. 3. αἱ δ' ὑπερω ξυλιναι.*

² *Dio. p. 899. πῶς τε ἀνεπεβόλῳ αὐτῶ πασιν.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 373

accommodated with Seats on the Steps of Stone, as *Lipsius* imagined, but that a great number were placed in the two uppermost Stories; for without them they could not exhibit Games in the Amphitheatre. Besides, the northerly Circus in *Constantinople* was certainly such a kind of Building; for we read in the Chronicle of *Marcellinus*, that in the time of the Emperor *Anastasius*, the Steps of it were burnt; namely, those that were the highest of all, together with their Roof, that is, the covered Lodge.

That the highest part of the Building was Wood, we may also learn from Medals; since in them we perceive, that these Lodges were not arched, but with Architraves, a strait Post being placed between every large Space. This is sufficient for giving us to understand, that the whole was of Wood, and must have contributed greatly for leaving the Space open, and the View uninterrupted to the Spectators, who, in the first Medal, are seen placed even to the very Top of the Building. For Pilasters of Stone, and Arches, would have taken up a great part of the Situation there. 'Tis true, that according to *Xiphiline*, in the account of the Elephant just now hinted at, he calls that higher part *Apsis*, which commonly signifies Arch, or Vault; but here it must not be understood of the empty Spaces between the Pilasters, which were arched above, but of

324 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

the whole Roof made like a Vault. However, in a Passage of *Tertullian*, which we shall mention in another place, that part was hinted at by the word *Camera*, which in *Latin* signifies the same as Vaults. *Vitruvius*, in the forementioned Passage, called it *Portico*, it being so in effect, tho' of other Materials, and higher than the rest. *Calphurnius* gave it likewise the same Denomination in the Verses already quoted; of this we must understand where he mentions the *Portico* laid over with Gold, nay, in the Eclogue itself, where the Passage is well read and understood, it is expressly said so.

*Vidimus in Caelum trabibus spectacula
textis*

*Surgere, Tarpeium prope despectantia
culmen,*

Immensosque gradus.

Spectacula signifies here as much as small Rooms or Closets, into which the Lodges appear to have been divided. So must *Plautus* be understood, where he mentions that the Wind beat down the *Spectacula*; and *Cicero*, where he says, that Applause was excited in all the *Spectacula*; and *Livy*, that in the Circus every one made his own *Spectacula*. These Rooms were made tra-

^v En. illita. Porticus auro.

^b Circ. A. 5. 5. 1.

^c Cic. in Sest.

^d Lib. 1.

bibus

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 325

Sibus textis, as it ought to be read; which manner of speaking is taken from *Virgil*, where he says, that the *Trojan Horse* was made *roboribus textis*. *Calphurnius* therefore saw in the Amphitheatre an immense number of Steps and Lodges, higher than the top of the *Tarpeian Rock*, all which were composed of Beams. For this reason were they gilded; and this is the *interior Circumference* of the Theatre, which *Nero* caused to be gilded on account of *Tiridates* being present at them; it being not well translated by ¹⁰ *Xiphiline*, when he says, he caused the inner-side of the Theatre to be gilded all around. In all these places put together, the number of Spectators mentioned by *Victor*, might very well have been contained. The Circus, 'tis certain, held a much greater number, since even that of *Tarquin* was sufficient to contain a hundred and fifty thousand Spectators, if we can believe ¹¹ *Dionysius*; and the *Circus maximus* of *Cesar*, according to ¹² *Pliny*, two hundred and forty thousand; but there was no wonder in that at all, since it was three *Stadia's* in length: It was rather a greater Wonder to find eighty thousand contained in so small a Space as that of the Amphitheatre, which, in comparison with the Circus, was small; besides, the Circus was still more en-

¹⁰ Lib. 63. ἡ περιέπετα αὐτῆς πᾶσα ἐνδοθεν. *Ipsam totum, &c.* ¹¹ Lib. 3. ¹² L. 36. c. 15.

326 Of AMPHITHEATRES

larged by *Trajan*, than what it was before his time.

The Form of the Amphitheatre of *Rome* gives us to understand in what manner that of *Verona* has been built, in the higher parts of it. Tho' we must remember, that of the two Spaces on high, which correspond with the two external lower Portico's, that of *Verona* had only but one; the Enclosure in it not being doubled, as in that of *Rome*. A great part of the Steps of Wood ought to have been less, since the Lodges on high were a necessary Finishing and Ornament to the whole. But what these really were, I shall not presume to affirm. In some ancient Pieces of the highest Steps of all, 'tis observed that uniform Spaces are kept, and counter-marked, and always of three Feet and a half in length: These Spaces come even to the middle of the Step, and leave as much Place as one may conveniently fit in them. In some likewise there are two Holes, as if they were made for Pivots to turn in them. It would seem to indicate, as if Pilasters of Stone had been corresponding with that on the outside: if so, *Ligorio* guessed right, when in his Plan he drew it in that manner. But it is the contrary, for the third Payement is not of Flag-Stones, nor supported by a Vault of the Wall, but appears to have been of Wood;

be-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 327.

because the Modillions which are prominent inwardly, and form'd by the same Stones which on the outside make the Frieze of the third Story, are hollowed cross-ways, and adapted for receiving the Travertures. We likewise see in the *Fascia* which is above them, several Holes in which the Traverses of the Ceiling entered, or other things of Wood and Iron which belong'd to it. That the third Floor or Ceiling was of Wood, we may conclude likewise, because the external Partition-Wall [in which the third Story is reduced] has no Thickness capable of lessening so much in the fourth, as was sufficient to impost another Roof of the Wall a-new; As it is in the two below the uppermost Order, where the Windows were, perhaps, not higher than the others, as in the Arena of *Rome*; but was lower like that of *Pola* and *Nimes*, and perhaps remained free to those who managed the Awning or Cover of the Amphitheatre. Be that as it will, we cannot doubt but that there was as much room for near as many People in the higher parts of the Building, as what were contained on the Stone Steps below.

328 Of AMPHITHEATRES

CHAP. XIII.

The Order and Manner how the Spectators were placed.

SINCE we have already treated of all the Places in which the Spectators sat, 'tis necessary we should say something with regard to the Manner how they were placed, and the Order kept therein. Since this has a good deal of relation with the Nature of the internal Form of the Building, such an Account will serve for making us comprehend the better what is already said, and for understanding many Passages of ancient Authors. But not to make Digression, I shall not pretend to trace the History of its Institution, which we find begun in the *Circi*, even in the time of the Kings of *Rome*, nor shall I speak of the Changes which happened. It is certain, some general Distinction among the Spectators was made in Amphitheatres. *First*, There was that of the Senatorian Order, and those others possessed of the chief Dignities. This most noble Class had their Places on the *Podium*, and all around it: In the middle of it there was a Box, that was locked up, called the *Suggestum* or *Cubiculum*, appropriated for the Emperor. In the Theatre of *Rome*, there were Boxes for the other dignified Persons also, mentioned by
Vitru-

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 329

Vitruvius by the Name of *Tribunals*; and *Suetonius* speaks of that of the *Prætor*. In the Amphitheatre I find no mention of them. Another Distinction was for those of the equestrian Order. We learn from * *Dio*, that *Lucius Roscius* (by Surname *Otho*) Tribune of the People, in the Year 687 of Rome, introduced a Law, carefully to separate the Seats of the *Equites* from the others. † *Pliny* writes, that the Tribes, at the persuasion of *Cicero*, pardoned him for having made such a theatrical Law; suffering willingly on his account, that their Inferiority, by such a Difference, should become the more conspicuous. But *Juvenal* could not help shewing his Anger on account of this Fact; and tho' it was a long time after it had been put in practice, could not refrain saying, *That so did it please the vain Otho to make such a Distinction*.

We learn from the Epitomy of † *Livy*, that the fourteen lowermost Steps were appointed for the *Roman Equites*; and because the Distinction of the Rank depended on the Tax they paid, for that reason, in *Augustus's* time, many *Equites* who were decay'd in Fortune, did not dare, on that account, to sit in any of the forementioned fourteen Steps or Rows. But this number might be kept in the Theatre, where the Sena-

* *Lib. 1. c. 7.*

† *Aug. c. 44.*

‡ *l. 36.*

§ *l. 7. c. 3.*

¶ *l. 99.*

330 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

tors and People of Quality in *Rome*, stood in the Pit. But it is credible, in the Amphitheatre, where the *Podium* could not be sufficient for those of the first Rank, those of the second Class having been encreased in great numbers, their places were also extended higher up in the Building; in effect, the number of fourteen Steps up to the first Bench or Precinct, does not answer in our Amphitheatre, so as to make us believe, that they were confined under that Bench. I shall likewise add, that in the Amphitheatre, it seems they did not only regard the Division by the Steps, but more particularly those of the *Cunei* or Wedges, some of these being assigned entirely to the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders. For *Suetonius* relates, that the greatest part of those *Tesserae* or Counters, which *Domitian* caused to be thrown in the Amphitheatre, by virtue of which, those who caught any of them, were entituled to the several Things, by way of Gift, specified in every Counter; which, for the most part, having fallen among the Popular Places or Seats, the Emperor commanded that fifty of them should be distributed, not to those sitting on the Steps, but *to every one of the Wedges of the Senatorian or Equestrian Orders*. Nor certainly could so many Senators be contained on the *Podium*, nor so many of the first

Æ Dom. c. 4. In singulos Cuneos Equestris ac Senatoris ordinis.

Rank,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 331

Rank, as came with their respective Divisions to the Shews. For of the sacred Dignitys, ⁷ *Arnobius* enumerates the *Pontifices*, the *Curiones Maximi*, *Quindecim Viri*, *Flamines*, *Augures*, and *Vestales*. In the *Circus*, *Claudius* appointed several and peculiar Seats to the Senators; and *Nero* to the Equites, as *Pliny*, *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* inform us.

The Tribunes sat in the same places of the Amphitheatre with the Equites; of which first kind the number was great, for there were those Civil as well as Military: and it was enough to entitle them to such places that they had been once of that Degree. Nay, ⁸ *Porfirio*, the ancient Interpreter of *Horace*, says, that the two first Ranks were of the Tribunes. The *Liberti* were, with much Precaution, excluded such places. So that ⁹ *Augustus* forbid the *Legati* of free People to sit among the Senators, because he knew that sometimes some who were only of the Rank of the *Liberti*, had been sent in that Character. And ¹⁰ *Dio* remarks as a singular Instance, that a certain Tribune of the People, who caused his Father, tho' a *Liber-tus*, or Freed-Man, to sit near himself in the Amphitheatre, that the said Action was not imputed to him as a Crime. The Women sat in the Covered Lodges, in the upper part of the

⁷ *Lib. 4.*

⁸ *Lib. 53.*

⁹ *Ad lib. Epod.*

¹⁰ *Suet. c. 44.*

Building;

332 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Building; where it is credible there may have been other Steps on which their Chairs were placed, as *Calphurnius* mentions.

From *Plutarch* it appears, that in the time of *Scylla*, Women and Men sat promiscuously together at the Shew. In *Ovid's* time, they stood in the same manner in the *Circus*: Where, in his Treatise of Love, he gives us to understand, that the Men made their Court to the Ladies, by taking care that none sitting behind them should in any ways molest them. But *Octavianus* separated them, and would not that they should be placed but in the highest Parts, and this even if Gladiatory Combats alone were to be performed. He only made an exception of the Vestals, to whom he appointed the best Places in the Theatres. And that they had Seats likewise on the *Podium*, we learn from *Prudentius*. The Ladies of the Blood Royal, or *Augusta*, sat very often among the Vestals. But on the higher Parts of the Building, the lowest Rank of the *Plebeians* stood behind the Women's Chairs, as did the others who had no particular Place assign'd them. Such was the general Distribution of the Places in the Amphitheatre, it being impossible to determine about them in a more particular Manner. If we remark a Passage in the Eclogue mentioned already in several Places, it would seem that all the Steps, even up to the Lodges, were filled up

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 333

up sometimes by the People of Rank : For the Poet says, that he himself was once forced to go among the Chairs of the Women where the common *Plebeians* were standing ; having found that on account of the great Concourse of People, all the Places were filled up by the Equites and Tribunes. It is very credible, that among the popular Seats they were divided into Tribes, every Individual having his own Place assign'd him. Thus it seems to have been necessary, in order to shun a Crowd, or Confusion and Disorder ; of this we have a Hint in an ancient Glossary, which renders the Word *Caveus Theatri*, *φυλὴ θεατρῶν*.

By what has been said, we may, I think, understand the Division of the *Cavea* spoke of by Writers in the *first*, *middle* and *highest* Spaces, the Signification of which Words have not been well understood. ¹¹ *Lipsius* thinks by the first, is meant the lowest or whole Equestrian Order ; by the middle and high Spaces, the other Marble Steps. ¹² *Balinger* thought by them the Division of the *Præcinctiones* or Benches is to be understood : But the truth is, as to the first mentioned by *Cicero*, the *Podium* was understood, and perhaps the lowermost Steps too, which were appointed to those of the greatest Distinction : By the middle, men-

¹¹ Cap. 14.

¹² De Senect. qui in prima Cavea spectat.

334 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

tioned by ¹³ *Suetonius*, all the other Steps of Stone: For the highest spoke of by *Seneca*, and call'd the last by *Cicero*, they understood the Steps and Lodges of the two higher Stories; if moreover, the highest Steps of Wood were not comprehended in the middle Division, the Lodges only remaining in the higher Parts. ¹⁴ *Seneca* by the Word of the highest *Cavea* understood those for the *Plebeians*. In the middle Seats *Augustus* ordered that none of those who wore brown Cloaths should stand there, that is, People of mean Condition; however ¹⁵ *Calphurnius* said, that he prohibited those who were meanly apparelled and poor, from coming near the Places that were the most noble, where the Emperor himself sat: For great care was taken that Order should be kept. ¹⁶ *Augustus* caus'd a *Gregarian* Soldier who had placed himself on one of the Fourteen Steps, to be removed from thence. *Domitian* issued first an express Edict to keep the Steps appointed for those of the Equestrian Order from being taken up by *Plebeians*, as ¹⁷ *Martial* tells us. There were certain Officers called *Locarii* appointed for taking care of the Seats, and who caus'd People to remove out of the Places in which they had not a Right to sit. Some of these *Locarii*,

¹³ *Aug. c. 44. ne quis Pullatorum media cavea.*

¹⁴ *Ad summam caveam spectansia.*

¹⁵ *Pullaquo paupertas.* ¹⁶ *Sueton. c. 14.* ¹⁷ *L. 5. Ep. 8.*

whose

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 335

whose Names were *Oceanus* and *Letius*, are famous in *Martial*. *Quintilian* mentions the Power and Extent of the *Theatrical Law*, by which any Person thought himself greatly injured, who was made to rise out of his Place wrongfully, because that was a thing which concerned his Property and Condition of Life.

Lipsius ¹⁸ asserts, that the Place for the Senators in the Amphitheatre, was called *Orchestra*, which he said was a very small Affair, made up only of four or five Seats. ¹⁹ *Bulinger* interpreted that which ²⁰ *Suetonius* writes about the *Arena*, as having a relation to the *Orchestra*. So *Spanheim* in the Medal of *Gordianus Pius*, which has the Representation of the Amphitheatre upon it, says, that the Emperor and Senators are to be seen in the *Orchestra*; and so does *Harduin* on *Pliny*, and all the others: but the truth is, they are very erroneous therein. For to call any Part of the Amphitheatre *Orchestra*, there is no Example thereof in Antiquity, and the very Word it self is repugnant to such a Signification; it being so very peculiar to the Theatre, that *Dio*, in order to express the Amphitheatre, Theatre, and Circus, ²¹ called them by the Words, the *Hunting Theatre*, the *Hippodromus*, and *Orchestra*, and *St. John*

¹⁸ C. 8. & 11. & 14. ¹⁹ De Cir. c. 35.

²⁰ Aug. c. 44. ²¹ Xiph. in Neron.

Chrysostomus

336 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Chrysoſtomus ²² in like manner, in order to expreſs the Circus and Theatre, called them *Hippodromus* and *Orcheſtra*. ²³ *Suetonius* writes, that *Claudius* permitted the Ambaſſadors of *Germany* to ſit in the *Orcheſtra*, having taken their Simplicity and Frankneſs in good part; for having of their own accord, when they ſaw the Ambaſſadors of the *Armenians* and *Parthians* ſitting in the *Orcheſtra*, removed from the popular Seat where they had been conducted; but here it is ſpoken of the Theatre.

On the contrary, where the ſame Hiſtorian ²⁴ relates that *Auguſtus* on a certain Day when the Shews were exhibited, led the Hoſtages of the *Parthians* through the middle of the *Arena*, and placed them above himſelf on the ſecond Subſellium or Bench, he does not there ſpeak of the Theatre; however *Cafaubon* had no room in this Place to underſtand it, by the ſecond Row of Seats in the *Orcheſtra*; nor likewiſe do I underſtand it as being the ſecond *Cuneus* or Wedge, as *Torrentius* would have it, but the ſecond Row, in which *Auguſtus* cauſed the *Parthians* to ſit above himſelf. By the 14 *Subſellia* or Benches ²⁵ *Martial* ſays are to be underſtood the Steps for the Equeſtrians.

²² *Hom.* 15. ad pop. ant. τὴν ὁρχήστραν ἑρπάζειν.

²³ *Cap.* 25. ²⁴ *Cap.* 43. *muneris die.* ²⁵ *Lib.* 5. 28.

Some

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 337

Some generally add to this Blunder another, in believing that the *Orchestra* of the Theatres was made up of Steps. *Bulinger* affirms, that there were four or five of them. *Harduin* in that Place of *Pliny* where he speaks of the Nets which defended the *Podium* from the wild Beasts, comes next to explain the *Orchestra* of the Theatres, and says with *Lipsius* and *Bulinger*, that it consisted of four or five Steps, and that the lowermost next the *Podium* was the most noble of any; for this end he quotes the Verses of *Juvenal* cited by *Lipsius*, in which it is shewn, that the first Families were placed on the *Podium*, but the *Orchestra* of the Theatres was nothing else but that Area in the middle which we now-a-days call the *Platea* in *Italian*, or Pit; which among the *Grecians* serv'd for dancing, from whence it took its Name, and the *Romans* brought their Dances on the *Scena*, where the Senators and Persons of Quality sat upon portable Forms or Benches. That passage however of *Juvenal* is of no Importance, when he speaks of the *Podium*, and not of the Steps; of the Amphitheatre, not of the Theatre; and when he mentions that those who were most noble stood in the *Podium*, not in the *Orchestra*. The same author in another Place interprets it *Theatre*, where *Pliny*, speaking of Lions, calls *Arena*, and where this last mentioned

338 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

²⁵ Author speaks of the People defended from the Wild-Beasts by Pallings of Iron, gives us to understand, that *they called the Area, Cavea, which is in the middle of the Theatres, from whence the People beheld the Games.* Hence they called *the Arena the Cavea of the Amphitheatre, because Sand was strewed over there.* But the truth is, neither in the Theatre was there need to secure the People from the Wild-Beasts, nor did they understand by the word *Cavea* the Field; nor from the Field did the People behold the Games, nor did they strew the *Spectatorium* in the Amphitheatres with Sand, but only the *Area*.

These Particulars I unwillingly enter on, and only as they are necessary for the better illustrating the Subject in hand.

But besides the above-mentioned general Distinctions, there were others more particular. In the time of *Augustus*, every good Regulation with regard to the Amphitheatres, was found in Confusion, and had been neglected: For that Emperor, besides annulling the first Laws, ²⁶ ordered the Soldiers to be separated from the rest of the People, and assigned them their Places; and certain Steps also for married People to sit on, according to the ancient usage of granting peculiar Privileges to them in different ways. However ²⁷ *Martial* jests with *Didimus* the

²⁵ *Ad. l. 8. c. 16.*

²⁶ *Suet. c. 44.*

²⁷ *L. 5. 42.*

Eunuch,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 339

Eunuch, who boasted that he might sit among Gentlemen, tho' he owned that he could not among Husbands. From *Pliny* the Younger we have an Account, that among the Honours conferred on those who had three Children, one was to sit distinguished at the Shews. And *Augustus* ordered, that the *Prætextati*, viz. the young Men (called so because they wore a hemm'd Gown till they arrived at the Age of Eighteen) should sit in a distinct Place by themselves. It was very much the Custom in ancient times, to make great Distinctions on account of Age. The College of the *Fabri* was divided by *Servius Tullius* into two *Centuriæ*, namely, one of the oldest, the other of the youngest Men. Likewise in the Theatre of *Athens*, the Youth were placed among one another; as may be gathered by the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, and from ²⁸ *Pollux*. The suppliant *Jews*, who came to *Rome*, were distinguished into Companies of Old, and Young, and Children, as we learn from ²⁹ *Philo*. The Ministers of Magistrates had likewise Places appointed them; hence *Tacitus* relates, that an *Accusator* had, as a Reward, liberty to sit in the Theatre among the *Viatores* of the Tribunes. We might have known many other Particulars, if the *Roscian* Law had been preserved, of which we have

²⁸ *Poll. l. 4. cap. 17. ἐν ἑκόν.*

²⁹ *Legat. ad C.*

340 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

already made mention. In it I learn from *Cicero*, that Bankrupts, and those who had wasted away their Substance, were confined among themselves; he ³⁰ upbraiding *Mar Antony*, who notwithstanding that, had placed himself on one of the fourteen Steps. The forementioned *Cunei*, formed by the small Stairs, made so many distinctions easy. For this reason ³¹ *Suetonius* says, that *Augustus* assigned over his *Cuneus* to the young Men, and the other, next to that, to the *Pedagogues*; who being so near them, might observe their Behaviour.

These publick Edifices served also sometimes for other Uses besides the Shews. In *Greece*, the Councils of the Cities assembled for the most part, in the Theatres. ³² *Salmasius* was of Opinion, that the public Distributions were given in the Amphitheatre; and that of Money given in *Martial's* time, seems to be confirmed by the Jest he bestowed on that Gentleman, who, after having received his Portion of the Money, went forward to the other ³³ *Cunei*, in order to scramble for more. But *Giacopo Gottofredo*, with a good deal of reason, denied that either in the Theatre or Amphitheatre, the ³⁴ People had the Distribution of Bread given them,

³⁰ *Phil. 2.*

³¹ *Cap. 44. Prætextatis Cuneum suum, & proximum Pedagogis.*

³² *Ad Hist. Aug. p. 374.*

³³ *L. 1. 24.*

³⁴ *Ad C. Th. de Ann. Civ.*

called

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 341

called *Gradile*, because it was bestowed on the Steps. The Inscription of ³⁵ *Gruter*, concerning the Donative given by *Claudius Cresimus* to the People, *per Gradus*, which is quoted for that purpose by those two great Men, is false, tho' we shall not enter upon that Subject at present.

We have, however, another Inscription, and a true one, which may bring forth very much Light in this matter, either for confirming what is already said, or for producing new Discoveries therein. Towards the end of the last Age, four Miles from *Rome*, some pieces of Marble were dug up, on which was mention of what regarded the College of the twelve Brothers, the *Arvals*. This was a Priesthood, ordained to make Sacrifices for procuring Fertility of the Fields or Country. The Inscriptions were immediately published by Monseigneur *Torre*, in the Monuments of ³⁶ *Anxium*. The most curious Particular in them, is the Description of the Place appointed to these Priests in the Amphitheatre. The Affignation, from the ordinary Consuls which are mentioned in the Stone, appears done in the last Year of *Titus*; that is, the first when the Amphitheatre was made use of. The same has been practised with the other Ranks of People. From what is contained in this Inscription we learn, that a Place was given in various manners

³⁵ *Grut.* 175. 8.

³⁶ *P.* 388.

342 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

to the College *Arvale*; namely, first, to the first *Menianus*, in the twelfth Cuneus in eight Marble Steps: Then, to the highest second *Menianus*, in the sixth Cuneus; four Marble Steps: Then, to the highest *Menianus*, in the Boards of Wood, at Number LIII. in eleven Steps. The Space assigned in all these Places or Situations summed up, shews that it exceeded 129 Feet and a half; but as to the number of Feet distributed in every one of the Steps, and in the noted Sums of them, there is a little Confusion. But we may at present observe, with how much Exactness the Places were distributed, and that Bodies were not set in a Line on one only Step, but rather in company from below upwards. So much room was allotted, because the dignified Persons came to the Amphitheatre with their Train of Officers and Servants: So we have seen already, that the Tribunitian *Viatores* had places. *Menianus* signifies a Place that is raised or flat, like a high Terrace for walking on. 'Tis credible, by the first *Menianus* was meant the *Podium*; tho' I don't find the Brothers *Arvali*, mentioned by ³⁷ *Arnobius*, among the Priests, who came orderly and with Decorum to the Shews: The other *Meniani* are the Plains or Floorings of the *Præcinctiones*; which word seems to me to imply, that they had Borderings, and were

³⁷ Lib. 4.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 343

Balustrades. Besides, it seems here, that by
 the word *Menianus*, is meant the Space be-
 tween one Bench or Precinct, and the other.
 It likewise appears, that there were many
Tunei, and that they became separated, the
 one from the other, by the Benches; and
 that they were seven, having different Num-
 bers upon them; nor could they have been
 in any other Manner, as we have shewn in
 Plate IX. We likewise found, in Confir-
 mation of what has been said, that there
 was an Order above the Marble Steps, and
 that many places were floored with Boards,
 and the said Steps made of Wood, in eleven
 of which were the Servants of the Col-
 lege *Arvale* placed. For we cannot be-
 lieve what ³⁸ *Lipsius* asserts, namely, that
 the Servants or Train belonging to the Ma-
 gistrates, stood likewise with them on the
Podium. However, the Monument of An-
 tiquity we have been describing, is a most
 valuable one, with regard to the Amphi-
 theatre.

I have sometimes heard People won-
 der, how Gentlemen, and People of Qua-
 lity, could sit a whole Day upon cold
 Marble, without injuring their Health. The
 truth is, in that case it would have been
 worse for them than the Plebeians, who
 stood aloft on Floorings of Wood; and
 he rather, since they beheld those Shews

³⁸ *Lipf. c. 11.*

344 OF AMPHITHEATRES.

likewise in the Winter Season. But 'tis first we should know that above the Marble Steps there were Boards of Wood laid, on which they sat. So much do we learn from ³⁹ *Dio* where he says, in the times of *Caligula*, Cushions were set upon the Seats of the Senators *that so they might not sit on the bare Boards*. Father *Montfaucon* understood this Passage as if Cushions were placed under the Feet of the Senators; but methinks 'twould have been bad Oeconomy to make such an use of them. Thus we see how the others sat on Boards, and not on Stone; for not having known this Particular, we see the reason why that Passage of ⁴⁰ *Dio* was so very ill translated, where he speaks of the Thunder we have already spoke of in another place: The Historian says, that by the Fire thereof, *all the upper Round was burned*, and with it τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ κυκλῶν ἰδαφὴ πάντα *Leunclavius* being followed in this Passage, by the Editor of the new Supplement to *Dio*, renders it ⁴¹ *quicquid esset in solo interioris circuli*; which might be rendered, & *pavimenta interiora omnia*; that is, all the Flooring of the Steps, or the Boards which were placed above the Steps. In the same Passage also I would not have translated it *Areparium*, and I would have said, *it was kindled*, rather than *deflagavit*; the

³⁹ Lib. 59. ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν δαυιδῶν καθίζονται.

⁴⁰ Tom. 3. p. 256. ⁴¹ Lib. 78.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 345

Amphitheatre itself having not been consumed, but a Fire happening in it. The Cushions of the Senators became in use likewise among other Gentlemen, as is hinted by a Passage in *Juvenal*. The Use of them in the Theatre was not unknown to the *Grecians*; for *Theophrastus* mentions them, where he speaks of the ⁴² Flatterer. The Custom of the Ladies sitting on the Steps of the Arena of *Verona*, to see Comedies acted there, lasted till the days of our Fathers, but upon Cushions, brought thither by their Servants out of their Coaches. On the Podium, however, the People of Distinction sat with a greater kind of Dignity, namely, on Chairs brought there on purpose. *Augustus* sat there on a Currule Chair, as we learn from ⁴³ *Suetonius*. For *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*'s gilded Chairs were brought thither, as ⁴⁴ *Dio* tells us, the Form of which is seen in many Medals: The Materials of it we learn from ⁴⁵ *Horace*, who calls it the Ivory Currule Seat, and peculiar to sundry Dignities. But, perhaps, all those of the Senatorian Order from Cushions became to have Seats in the Amphitheatre; and it would seem as if there were several Rows of them, since *Manneius* was derided by *Martial*, for having placed himself on the first Step, as he had used to do, before the Edict of *Domitian* was promulgated, by which it was

⁴² τὰ πρὸς κεφαλῇ.

⁴³ Cap. 43.

⁴⁴ Dio. l. 58.

⁴⁵ Lib. 1. ep. 6.

quite

346 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

quite removed, and so went and sat in the third Order of Seats; as I ⁴⁶ read that Verse, which agrees with the Account of *Suetonius* above mentioned, where he mentions the second Seat. *Vitruvius* likewise names Steps in the Theatre, on which Chairs were placed. ⁴⁷ *Martial* speaks of *Forms* for Gentlemen; and, there are other Passages which give ground to suspect, that they made use of Chairs. The Emperor *Arcadius* prohibited the use of them only to People of low Rank; nor do I understand that Law ⁴⁸ *de usu Cellarum*, or portable Chairs, as others have done. *Ovid*, *de Arte*, &c. names likewise the *Suppedaneæ*, or Foot-stools. Besides, they likewise have, without doubt, practised the same in the Amphitheatres sometimes, as they did in Theatres, according to the repeated Testimony of *Dio*; namely, that in order to do honour to some, they put Chairs in their Places, tho' they were absent, nay, sometimes after they were dead. To *Germanicus*, after his decease, as ⁴⁹ *Tacitus* tells us, Currule Chairs were placed, and above them Laurel Crowns, [as we find represented in several Medals] and that they were placed among those of the *Augustal* Priests. Hence we may gather, that the latter had the most noble Places allotted them in the Theatres and Amphitheatres.

⁴⁶ *Lib. 5. 14. Et inter ipsas pene tertias sellas.*

⁴⁷ *L. 5. 42.* ⁴⁸ *C. Th. de usu Cellarum.* ⁴⁹ *Ann. l. 20.*

C H A P. XIV.

The Velarium.

THE Facility of covering the Spectators with an Awning or Pavilion, was [with regard to the vast Height of the Amphitheatre, and the great Space it covered] not one of the least wonderful Things about the Building. This Pavilion was called *Vela*, or *Velarium* by the *Latins*, and put over the Building, or removed at pleasure, as need required. The Shews lasted the whole Day, all which time the Performers continued their Combats and diverted the Spectators: Tho' there were not wanting some, who went into the ¹ Circus at midnight, in order to take their places; and People, when any remarkable Shew was to be exhibited, flocked thither before Day-break. That in the Morning there was a kind of Prelude made of Shews less pompous and fierce than the others which were to follow the same Day, I gather from the Description *Ovid* gives of the Hind appointed to be slain in the *early time of the Morning within the Arena*; and from the mention which ² *Seneca* makes, of the Laughter excited in the Amphitheatre, where People, early in the Morning, found the Bull and the Bear tied together, and afterwards both of them killed by the Wild-Boar. 'Tis

¹ *Su. Cal. cap. 26. Lampr. in Elag.*

² *De Ira, lib. 3.*

348 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

true, some went away to dine, and then returned back again, as may be gathered from the Historians, where they relate that the Emperor ³ *Claudius* was not of that number, delighting greatly in the Mid-day Diversions; the Cruelty of which, tho' mixed with an Appearance of what excited Laughter, is however detested by *Seneca* and *Tertullian*. Of the Afternoon Shews St. *Augustine* makes mention, in his ⁴ Confessions. In the fourth Age, those of the Magistrates belonging to the Judicatures, were particularly prohibited by a ⁵ Law, from returning to the Games after Dinner, as was practised by the others.

The fervent Heat of the Sun made some kind of Sconce or other necessary at the Games. In the Theatres, the Spectators for several Ages were uncovered, and this Usage continued perhaps always in other Parts too; for as we learn from ⁶ *Apuleius*, a Comedy, on a certain occasion, was left off in the middle from being acted, on account of the Rain which fell: And ⁷ St. *John Chrysostom* reproves the People for having stood bare-headed, with the Sun scorching of them, in the Theatres. However, by one of ⁸ *Gruter's* Inscriptions, we find that in the Theatres of *Italy*, even out of *Rome*, they had the Use of Pavilions or Awnings in those Buildings. We learn likewise from *Pliny* and *Valerius Maximus*, that *Quintus Catulus* was the

³ *Dio. Suet.*

⁴ *Lib. 6. c. 6.*

⁵ *C. Th. de Spec. leg.*

⁶ *Florid. c. 16.*

⁷ *Hom. 4. c. 16.*

⁸ 1099. 2.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 349

first who invented a Shade in the Theatre, and that therein he took example from the Luxury and Effeminacy of the People of *Campania*. Of a covered Theatre *Pliny* makes mention in another Passage, which does not well agree with what precedes; but here we must understand it of a wooden fixed Theatre only. *Pliny* mentions the Architect thereof, *Valerius* of *Ostia*; which Fabric was wonderful with regard to its great Breadth. I read in *Philostratus*, that *Herod* the *Athenian* made one covered with Cedar. That an Awning was extended over the Amphitheatre of *Verona*, is seen by a Piece of the usual red Marble, something more than two Feet in breadth, and almost square, found in digging and still preserved. In it we observe, above one of the Angles thereof, in the Parts towards the contiguous Angle, several small Bores made hollow by the continued Friction of the Ropes: The Remains of such Stones shew them to have been Cords not thicker than the fourth part of an Inch; since those that were large, and which supported the Weight, were fixed, nor did they run out in the same way that the small Cords did; by which the Foldings of the Velarium were made to be pulled back and forward as there was occasion; at least I imagine it so. *Lentulus Spinther* was the first that invented ¹⁰ Coverings of Linnen-Cloth. But ¹¹ *Dio*, as a Proof of the excessive Expence made by *Cæsar* at the Games,

⁹ L. 36. c. 15. ¹⁰ Plin. l. 19. c. 1. ¹¹ Lib. 43. men-

350 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

mentions that (as it was reported) he once caused the Spectators to be shaded from the Heat of the Sun with Coverings of Silk. But by the Games spoke of by the Historian, it seems probable, that the Place mentioned to have been covered by *Cæsar*, in the manner just now described, was his own Amphitheatre of Wood; which, at that time, was an excess of Luxury, since the Silk was then not produced nor manufactured in that Country, but brought thither from remote Parts of the World. I observe in *Vopiscus*, that even in the time of *Aurelian*, a Pound of pure Silk-Stuff was valued at the like Weight of Gold. *Nero* once caused Purple Veils to be spread over the Theatre, representing the Heavens, with Stars of Gold thereon, and his own Image embroidered in the middle, representing the Sun driving a Chariot. However, the Covering was commonly made of Wool: This I conjecture from a Passage of *Tertullian*, where, in order to express that God sees even beyond the Amphitheatre, he says, *Extra Cameras, & Gradus, & Apulias*.¹³ *Lipsius* says, he cannot imagine what these *Apulias* were.¹⁴ *Bulinger* deduced that word from the Greek, and said *Tertullian* had so named the higher Portico's. But *Tertullian*, in that place, speaks of the same as the inner part of the Amphitheatre, and names the Parts which filled it, viz. the

¹² *Xiph. in Ner.*

¹³ *Cap. 33. de Apuliis fateor me non posse hincere, &c.*

¹⁴ *Bul. de Th. in Proem.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 351

teps, Lodges, and Coverings; and to these, of the others, does he give the Name of *Apule*, for so must it be read, and not *Apulie*, viz. *Pugliese*, which is as much as to say, Wool; rightly so named from *Pulia*, since the Wool of that Province is more famous than any where else, as ¹⁵ *Pliny* says. For this reason ¹⁶ *Martial* affirms, that that Country was ennobled not a little, by having had the finest Wool of any, as *Parma* was for the second kind, and *Altina* for the third sort. So the Woollen-Cloth, I say, was called *Apule*, from the Country *Apulia*; as Silk, for the same reason, was called *Serica*. So much does the Poet give *Apulea* the Pre-eminence above the other Provinces, because of the white Wool it produces; tho' the Velarium of the Amphitheatre was, for the most part, of dyed Wool, variously coloured; and this I gather from a Passage of ¹⁷ *Lucretius*, where he says, that the red Iron-coloured, and yellow Coverings of the Theatre, reflected back on the Assembly of Spectators, and on the Scene, undulating the whole with their Colours. So did they poetically paint the Appearance of the waving Motion produced by the Wind blowing on the Awning.

But it is not so easy to know [by what has been already said concerning the Vela-

¹⁵ L. 8. c. 48. *Laudatissima Apula. Apophor. velleribus pri-
oris Apulia. v. l. 2.*

¹⁶ Ep. 37.

¹⁷ Lib. 4. *Coguntque suo fluitare colore.*

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352 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

rium] the manner how the Awning, at so great a Height, could be kept spread over so ample a Circumference and Space, as that of the whole Amphitheatre, and the Method they had to manage it, at pleasure. We learn from ¹⁸ *Lampridius*, that they caused the Marine Soldiers to handle it, because more expert than the others in managing the Sails of Ships; yet as to the manner how it was performed, we are still in the dark. In the Coliseum we have observed, in treating about the exterior Circuit, that there were 240 large Corbils of Stone, into which an equal number of long Poles were fixed, which piercing through the Cornish, stood erect, in order to support the *Velarium*: But the Difficulty consists in knowing how it was possible to keep such large Ropes so very well stretched, and extended in so great a Breadth as was the Diameter of the whole Amphitheatre. As to this Particular, the *Roman* Architects seem to have had the only good Notion; and *Fontana*, in his Drawing, has well represented how that Affair was practicable, tho' he has not expressed the manner of executing it in Words. I here give you its Figure; but you must however imagine some other Particular, still more to be added, because by not conceiving it in any other Form than what is here represented, a fixed Covering might, I own, some way or another, have been placed upon it,

¹⁸ *In Com. a Militibus Classariis.*

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Of AMPHITHEATRES. 353

it does not appear how they could draw backward and forward at pleasure; and we do know from History, that in the iatry Shews ¹⁹ *Caligula* took sometimes ght when the Sun was most intensely to order the Covering of the Amphitheatre to be drawn back and removed of lden; prohibiting any one whomsoever, going away then from their Places, or ng out of the Building.

uch a Work could not be otherwise sed, but by forming a large oval Ring hick Ropes in the middle, by which greatest part of the Area was left unco- d; as it was likewise necessary for the sion of Air and Light, and a Method eldom used by the Ancients, even in their Buildings, as may be seen in *Agrippa's theon*. This Covering or Awning, was to d the Spectators from the Heat of the or from any sudden Rain which might but not to cover the empty Space of Area. For this very reason, perhaps, *Plinius* called the Field open and un- red. This Rope may have had severa s of Metal round it, which may have d for having the principal Ropes fixed em, rendering the Draught so much horter, serving instead of Pillars or any : Supporter which could be fixed in that . When it occurred to prepare Games,

vet. c. 26. 20 *Qua patula juvenis Dens dedit Arena.*

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354 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

this great Circle, [for so I think we must call it] must have been brought into the middle, and several small Ropes fix'd to by Hooks, which being carried streight upwards to the top of the Circumference, might there, by means of Blocks and Pullies, be drawn up at once, and equally hoisted, drawing up the Ring all round, and then fixed securely.

These Ropes were, like the Ground upon which the Awning rested, divided into different Plaits or Foldings: It may probably have been interwove with other lesser Cords, and these, 'tis credible, went by the like number of proportionable Rings, and have been fitly distributed round the Cable in the middle, playing within these at the pleasure of those who stood above the uppermost Story, and running above the Cornish; for all this was to be performed above the covered Lodges. The Ground-work of all must have been fastned to the top of the Poles on the outside of the Building, and perhaps at the foot of them too, and made to rest horizontally above the Circuit of the second Enclosure, upon Pillars of Wood; which, for that end, must have been erected higher in the fore part of the Lodges. The lesser Cords, in the same Circuit, have rested upon Pulleys, in order to make them move the easier, here only the Awning beginning. Perhaps in our Amphitheatre of *Verona*, they may

may have caused the Ropes thereof to have been extended over pieces of Stone placed above the Cornish, in order to support it the better: my Conjecture about this, arising from the piece of hollowed Marble, of which I have already made mention. Perhaps also they made it to pass on the outside, and directed it to the Windows of the highest Order: But, to determine the very precise manner how it was done, where we have only our Imagination to guide us, is, I think, a difficult Task.

How strongly the greater kind of Ropes were stretched, and how firmly fixed, may be conjectured by the Method they had of hoisting things up from the bottom to the top of the Building. Sometimes *Children* (as ²¹ *Juvenal* mentions) *were seen snatched up as high as the Velarium*. And ²² *Martial* speaks of a Bull lifted up from the middle of the Arena, which appear'd as representing *Hercules* being carried up to Heaven. We have certainly an account of the Machines wherewith they used to hoist up things aloft, as were common on the Scenes; which, as an ancient ²³ Etymologist tells us, were called *Cranes*. But, perhaps, in the Arena, on that occasion, they also made use of the principal great Ropes, appropriated for supporting the *Velarium*, and of the larger Hoop or Circle, as it was linked together. We must not

²¹ Sat. 4.

²² Lib. 5. 15.

²³ Γερανός.

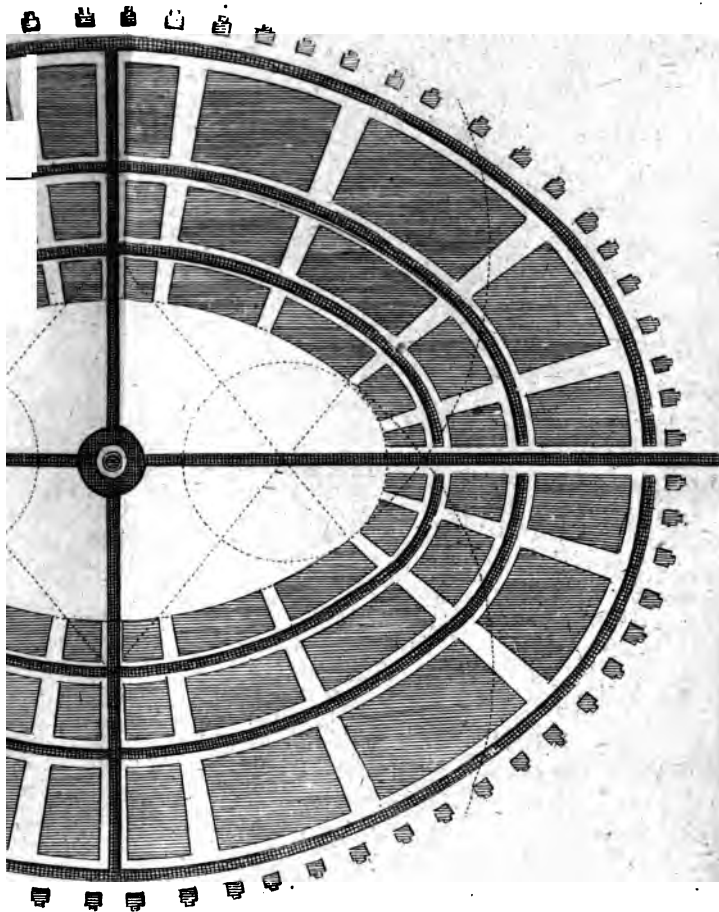
356 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

neglect to mention, that in reading the Historians it appears, sometimes the Spectators were left without any Velarium at all, and so exposed to the Injury of the Weather; since ²⁴ *Dio* writes, that Hats, after the *Theſſalian* manner, were, in *Caligula's* time, allowed in the Theatres, in order to defend the Spectators from the violent Heat of the Sun; the Ancients, otherwise, being used to go bare-headed. And ²⁵ *Martial* tells us, that a certain Person's *Lacerna* or Cloak, which he wore of a black Colour, [contrary to the Fashion of other People, who had them white] was, by a sudden Snow which fell in the Amphitheatre, made white also. From the same Author we likewise learn, how that the *Lacernæ*, which were, for the most part, short Cloaks, were generally made use of in the ²⁶ Amphitheatres; but that is to be understood when the Wind hindered the *Velarium* from being drawn over the Building; which, as we learn by several Passages of the Poets, did not seldom happen.

²⁴ *Lib. 59.* ²⁵ *L. 4. Ep. 2.*

²⁶ *L. 14. 125. Amphitheatrales nos commendamus ad usus.*

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C H A P. XV.

Of the subterraneous Part of the Building.

FROM the Air on high, let us now descend to the lower Parts of the Earth. It has been observed by many, that the Amphitheatre under ground, had Walls and hollow Places belonging to it; but as no body has taken the pains to dig and examine it to purpose, strange things, I own, have therefore been said on the Subject. *Andrea Fulvio, Marliano*, and others, have asserted, that this vast Pile was, in a great measure, supported by the *Cloacæ*; tho', at the same time, Conduits never were placed under high Walls. *Lipsius*, and many others, have believed that the subterraneous Cavities served for Repositories or Store-Houses, and Prisons for the Wild-Beasts; without considering how narrow it was for that use, or that such kinds of Beasts could not be kept in Flocks together like Sheep, in order to bring any of them out at pleasure. But having dug here in every Place, we have been able to make a perfect Plan of the Parts under-ground, as may be seen by the Draught.

358 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

In the Copper-plate, that round Figure which appears in the middle, represents a Well, and is exceedingly deep, in Diameter six Feet. Wells like this, and in the same Situation, may probably have been in every other Amphitheatre, for what we know. *Baluzio*, in his History of the City of *Tulle*, asserts, he had seen there the Remains of an Amphitheatre, in the middle of which, he says, there was a Well, the Bottom of which could never be fathomed. But the Bottom, I think, they may however hope to find, if they will seek better for it. Besides, a Well in that Situation might likewise indicate, that a Theatre, or some other Building, may have been there. But laying aside the fantastical Speculations, which are heard now and then concerning the Well of our Amphitheatre, the Mouth of which anciently was shut up and hid; the use of it is manifest, because by its great depth, in the Center of the Field or Area, which was the lowest Situation of any, it might have contributed not a little for draining the Water, and thereby to keep the whole dry; and the rather, since the Field was always uncovered, so that the Rain-Water which every where fell on the Awning, discharged itself into the Well; which Awning, by the slope which it naturally had, was somewhat inclined towards the inner part of the Building. This then was the *Compluvium* mentioned

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 359

tioned by the Ancients, within the Arena, and explain'd by ¹ *Isidorus*, as being that Place where *the Water all around was gathered*. And, I think, that the chief Benefit thereof, was to collect the Water that dropt or poured down on the Surface of the Field, which was higher than the Walls and Covering of the Conduits, and which was necessary to be kept dry. All the shaded part of the Drawing represents the Conduits situated in the middle of the three Covered Ways, and also length and cross-ways, from one Point to the other, without coming cross any Wall except that of the Podium, the Foundation of which is bored in two parts in the middle, under ground. None of them is less than seven Feet deep, and those which run from one end to the other are four Feet and a half broad, those cross-ways are three Feet ten Inches, that of the middle Covered Way twenty-six Inches, and the other two, some more, some less. The Bottom of them is laid firm and solid, but that of the great Conduit has a Pavement of large Flag-Stones. Those in the Ellipsis don't join with the others length-ways, but only with that other traverse-ways; those which cross one another near the Center, turn off from the Well, which is surrounded with a Wall, and then they join again. The Walls of those Conduits are built after the usual manner of

¹ *Lik. 25. c. 7.*

360 Of AMPHITHEATRES

the *Romans*, with the common *Strata*, at the distance of every three Feet, and with square Stones, and three Rows one above the other, particularly at the Top. Above the square Stones there are Flags of the usual kind of Marble, which covers them fully, and forms a kind of Floor, no less than a Foot in thickness, and sometimes even ten in breadth. In this likewise we discover the same use which we mentioned in the second Chapter, namely, that the Borders of them are made smooth, but not the middle, in the Sides of the Stones which ought to join one with another. Having dug likewise before the other large Gate there, we found the Conduit not covered with Flag-Stones, but by a very large Vault; there being likewise two lesser Conduits on each side, which joined with it.

The Use of these Conduits was, without doubt, to receive and discharge the Urine and other Soil, and also Rain-Water, which fell on the Amphitheatre. As to these things, the *Romans* wisely took much care about them in their Buildings, and therein used great Magnificence too. In several places there are round Holes in the Flag-Stones above, by which, in taking up the Stone which closed it, a Man could easily go down into it. I have likewise observed [in the low part of the Conduit cross-ways, where it passes under the inner Enclosure] a little Door, with a small Stair which came out on the

he third Step, where the Stone has been movable. Openings are here and there found likewise in the Walls of the Conduits: By these they laid, within those Receptacles, several Channels or Spouts, which were distributed within the Walls, and placed along the Stairs, carrying Urine and the Water that drop'd thither, from the higher parts of the Building. The largest Conduits of all, came out with the same Breadth from the Amphitheatre, and run, one towards the River, the other towards the Rivulet called *Adige*; where, without doubt, they must have been emptied. About ten Paces further out from the Gate, a lesser Conduit has been found, which, join'd with the great one, must have carried the Gutter-Water of several Streets to the *Adige* also. By our knowing for certain, that in the *Roman* Amphitheatre, when they wanted a great Quantity of Water, they brought in as much as served for representing their Naval Combats; this has made many believe, that they did the like in our Amphitheatre of *Verona*, and that the large Conduits served for that purpose: But as to that, I cannot venture to affirm any thing; because the *Adige* is lower than the Level of the Field of the Arena, nor have we any account of any Aqueducts made use of for that purpose at all.

Having,

362 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Having, in the Drawing which I lay before you, given four Centers and four Circles by Lines dotted, this is to shew what the Form of the Oval of the Area is, and consequently of the whole Amphitheatre; the Enclosures of which, correspond with such an inner Line. 'Tis necessary we should speak a little on this head. Every one sees that after having, in this Treatise, call'd that of the Area of our Amphitheatre an *Ellipsis*, what is express'd in the Draught can be no mathematical Demonstration thereof; it being, on the other hand, mathematically repugnant, that part of the Arch of a Circle can be at the same time elliptical. Nay, that the Arch of a Circle and one of the Ellipsis, can touch in any more than one Point, unless it was an Arch infinitely small. That which is shewn in the Draught is only a Hint of the sensible Conformation, so that its Title in the Plate ought to be, *A mechanical Indication of the Elliptic Field*, it being in effect mechanically rais'd. So much is sufficient for the Architect, in whom a perfect Exactness, and the abstracted Measures of geometrical Calculation are not required; the Difference in so small a Space, between the common and mathematical Computation being so minute, that it is not observable in Practice. So when, for Example, there is a Pillar to be rais'd, and placed any where, lying on the Ground, and a Calculation of
its

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 363

its Weight to be made ; by not knowing the Quadrature of the Circle, we cannot therefore know it exactly ; yet the Error therein will be so small, as not to be of any importance in the Operation. But in order to give a more precise account of our *Area*, I shall add in what manner a perfect Ellipsis is described throughout its whole Circumference, which is sufficiently known by the bringing in of the Axis, indicated in its place ; since that which is longest only being given, the Ellipses may be infinite in number, and so the short Diameter be determined, it cannot be but one. That the Ellipsis is perfect, I have prov'd in this manner, with the help of *Apollonius*, who shews, that two Lines proceeding from their Focus's, and brought to join in any Point of the elliptical Circumference, are always equal to the longest Axis. I have caused two Cords to be stretched over the Length and Breadth, representing the two Axes ; then having taken another, equal to the greater one, I have doubled it, and made it become the half of it : Then fixing one end in one of the Extremities of the lesser Axis, I have made the other end touch the greater one, in the Point of their meeting. I have marked out the *Focus*, which I found 21 Feet distant from the *Vertex* ; then, in the same manner, the other *Focus* from the other part. Then undoubling the Rope, having fix'd the Ends thereof in the places
of

364 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

of the *Focus's* themselves, I extended the Rope with a Pin, which divided it into two Lines; this Pin I turned round, and found that it sweeps the whole Round, and comes to touch the lowest Step, except in that small Tract where the Repairings have spoiled the Curvature. Every Amphitheatre has been of an elliptic Form, and varied only by the different greatness of the Axis; since unquestionably the ancient, as well as our modern Artificers, must have made use of this vulgar Method in describing an oval Figure; by which they made it perfect, and after the *Apollonian* manner, tho' without ever knowing that its *Focus's* divide the Axes in such proportion, that the Rectangle of the Segments are equal to the fourth part of the Figure, that is, to the Square of the lesser Semi-axis. Nor that the Square of the Half-Ordinate is at the Rectangle of the Segments of the Axis, as the Parameter or *Latus rectum* to the Axis itself; and the Rectangle of the Segments is to the same Square, as the Square of the greater Axis to that of the lesser. Nor do they likewise know the other fine Properties and Demonstrations found out since *Apollonius*, by many excellent Genius's, and lately illustrated by *P. Grandi*, and without having heard of the admirable Effect which proceeds from this Figure, in the collecting Light and Sound; or the Honour done to this Curve, by its having

Of AMPHITHEATRES, 365

Having been introduced into Heaven itself, according to those, who do not find the Orbits of the Planets circular, as the Ancients imagined, but elliptical. And here we think proper to acquaint the Reader, that I have lately caused the Meridian Line of our City to be marked out with Chissels in several places of our Amphitheatre, as may be seen in the lowest Steps on the left Hand going into the Building, and not far from the Entrance. In such a conspicuous Plan I thought proper to fix the Beginning of the Line, which shall be seen in another Volume carried out here and there through all the Territory, nay in one Place even to the *Po*, and in another, near to *Trent*.

There remains now nothing more to be said with regard to the Description of the Amphitheatre, the Structure whereof having been Part by Part shewn in the best Manner I could. Some Observations may only be added on the broken Parts or Fragments thereof, and the Pieces of Marble found in digging at different times. But while this Treatise is now printing, we may here shew Fragments of another kind, occasioned by the Thunder, which having struck in the inner Angle of one of the four highest Arches, has broken and loosed two large Pieces of the lowermost Stones, but not touched the Vault below, nor occasion'd any Damage in the under Parts of the Building; nay, by the

366 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Nature of the Stroke, and a small Mark ~~thereof~~ on one of the upper Stones, it appears that the Direction of the Blow came from below upwards, and the large Flame above the lowermost Vault, seen by those who were in the Streets a Moment before it fell, shews, that the Thunder began there, that is kindled, then split, its Flight turning more subtile the higher it went up; and confirms my Opinion about the Generation of Thunder, which being loose and unbridled, it first encreases by degrees, having but a little time since seen a small Book in Latin wrote on that Subject, and published two Years ago in *Germany* by Mr. *Richter* a Saxon Philosopher, in which he not only agrees in this new Opinion, but pretends to account for all its apparent Extravagancies in the Manner just now mentioned. But what shall we say, if in treating on this Subject, I should add several new Observations and Arguments no less convincing than what I have formerly advanc'd; all which I have been thinking on since Mr. *Richter* translated and quoted my Letter? That Thunder likewise, which occasioned so great a Conflagration within the Amphitheatre in the time of *Macrinus*, makes us conjecture, that the Thunder was engendred there, not on high in the Air and Clouds. But of this we shall treat on another Occasion, being at present to speak not of the Pieces of Stone driven

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 367

driven off from the Building and scattered here and there by the Thunder; but of the very many Fragments of foreign Marble found there in digging; most of which were taken either out of the Well, or the Bottom of the great Conduits, particularly in the Situation of the most noble and most frequented Gate. This may encourage People to dig in that of *Rome*, with the Hopes of finding what may sufficiently compensate their Labour. The most considerable Fragments found at the last digging have been some Pieces of *African* Marble Pillars, the Diameters of which were about a Foot and a half, their Pedestals of Marble of our Country; next was the Top of a Pillar of *Grecian* Marble, the Diameter thereof near three Feet, then a Piece of a large half Pillar of the *Dorick* Order and fluted; then other Pieces of lesser Pieces very deeply fluted, together with their Capitals, and Bas-Relievo's, then Part of the great Cornish, with Modillions and Dentings, with many other broken Pieces of Cornishes, and other things, some of which were of Serpentine. Next a small broken Pillar of *Egyptian* Stone about two Feet high, and eight Inches thick; but of such a kind, as I never before had seen among ancient Remains. By its Spots 'tis of the granate kind, but not with such small Spots; 'tis of a reddish Colour, but so very pretty, that it

368 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

is not easy to find any thing more agreeable; there are beautiful lucid Parts interspersed thro' the whole, like Pieces of Agate or rather Stripes of Silver. Which puts me in mind of the Marble which Father *Million* says he saw at *Ravenna*, in which he imagin'd precious Stones were indented. There was a Head of *Parian* Marble of a good Taste found likewise, of a Man twice as big as Nature; the Face is not of an Ancient we know. Last of all, we found half of a Horse's Leg of Metal, and Part of the Head, above the common Size of the Animal, and done with an excellent Taste.

Where the whole of these Pieces have been placed, is not easy to determine; perhaps they have not all belonged to the Amphitheatre, which once was itself a Reception for Fragments and Rubbish. There are besides what is already mentioned, Pieces of Pillars of *African* and *Grecian* Marble so very small, that we may safely imagine them to have belong'd to the *Balustrade* of the *Podium*; in which likewise, at certain Distances, have others somewhat larger of *Serpentine*, and other choice Marble, been made use of. Perhaps some Statue or another of a moderate Size may have also been placed in the Amphitheatre, as we know others were in the *Circus*. 'Tis credible the half-fluted Pillars stood at the two inner Doors of the Field. The Pillars of
African

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 369

African Marble may have been made use of in the great outer Gate, being dug up there. From Medals we learn where the Statues of the Horses in Cast-Metal stood; on them they show a *Quadriga* above the great Gate of the *Coliseum*, which, when placed there at first, may have alluded to the Triumph of *Titus*. In the same Place, exactly in the middle of the Conduit, were our two Pieces found. We may see then how our Amphitheatre has likewise been enriched with such ornaments; so that both from this, as well as from what remains here hinted at, we may learn how well those Foreigners have understood the Matter, when they said this Building was a rough and coarse Structure.

From these notable Remains, particularly of Pillars, they seem to confirm that which I hinted at in the first Book, treating of the Medals, namely, that there was a Vestibule placed before the principal Gate or Entry, and adorn'd with several Pillars, and distinguished from the rest of the Building as much with regard to the Materials, as the Workmanship thereof; perhaps above it the brazen Horse may have been placed. In the situation of the other Gate, correspondent with that, but few things have been found. In order to give some Conjecture about the Marble Colossian Head, we observe in the Medals of *Alexander Severus* and *Gordian*, Colossus represented as standing near the

370 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Amphitheatre, perhaps the like may have been here. But in the Medalion of *Alexander Severus*, another Statue seems to have been placed under the Vestibul, and made in a different Form from that which appears in the Medals of *Titus*. The Head being found in the same Place, may make us believe, that such another may have been near the Entry, and have represented the Person who presided over the Fabric, or who may have contributed most to the Expence of building it. We must not neglect to observe, that the Fragments themselves afford no small Light to those who can consider them to purpose; 'tis observ'd, by way of Example, that at the Bottom of every Pillar, the small Round which makes the Border, was by the Ancients kept somewhat higher in the Body of the Pillar, so that it might not bear a great Weight upon it. For want of this Caution in the Works of many of our modern Artificers, who, on the other hand, make the Center more hollow, we often find the little Round itself broke, and the End of the Pillar spoil'd. Nor must we either pass by that which I have observed with much pleasure in the forementioned Remains of the Statue of the Horse; namely, that the Metal thereof is very fine, of a yellow Colour, and of a rich Composition: Besides, the Piece of the Head is all beautifully in-laid length-ways with small Streaks and Pieces
of

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 371

Of other Metal, among which several Foliages, or Branch-work, are nicely indented and interspersed on the Statue. These Indentings are of a reddish kind of Copper, which being of a different Colour from the rest of the Metal in which they were set, have an admirable Effect, appearing somewhat like Embroidery; besides, under the Ear, there is a square Piece, which instead of being placed along the Branch-work or Foliage, comes cross, and is silver'd over, insomuch that for several Days after it was found, it was taken for solid Plate: The Beauty and Perpetuity of the ancient way of gilding, every body knows. The Senator *Bonarrotti*, * in his Treatise on the *Medalions* of the Museum of *Carpegna*, has already made a Calculation from a Passage of *Pliny*, how much the Gold Leaf of the Ancients was thicker than ours at present, and shewn the manner used by them therein. Now by this piece of the Statue, the Perfection thereof is known, and the Durableness of their silvering over Things seen, the modern Way of performing it being indeed much inferior. Moreover, by this we learn, also the above-mentioned laborious and ingenious Method the Ancients had in their ornamenting Works of Metal; namely, by Indenting and In-laying of such pieces, which I believe has nowhere else been discovered, since whatever hitherto has been known this way, has been

* P. 371.

372 *Of AMPHITHEATRES.*

by the frequent method they had of gilding Statues; which I believe, however they did commonly, not by covering them entirely with Gold, but only adorning some particular parts thereof, which gave a greater Neatness to the whole, and render'd it more beautiful, as I know for certain, by several elegant little ancient Statues of Metal in my own keeping.

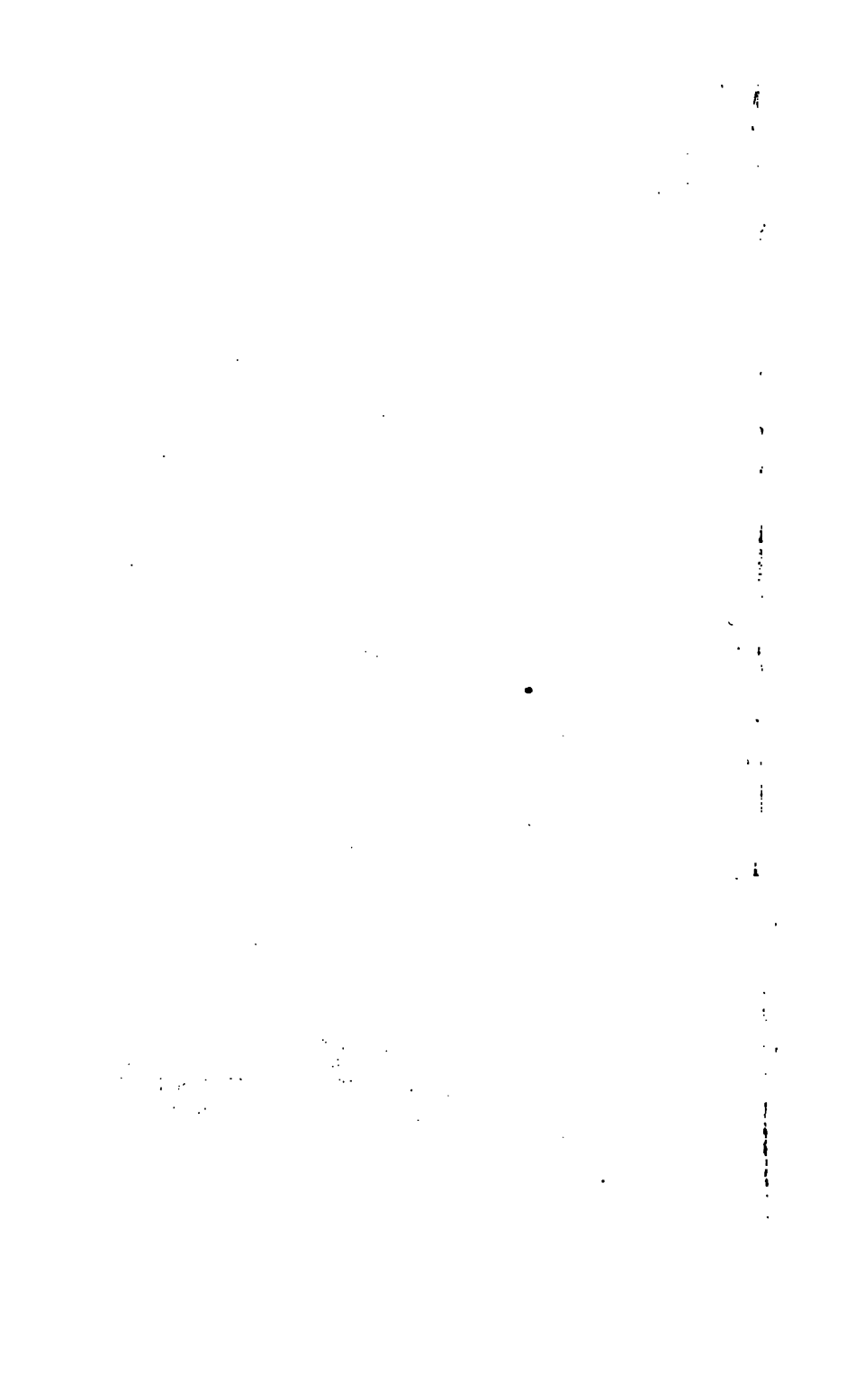
Last of all, I shall add, that whoever is endow'd with a good Taste in those Things, and will take pleasure to examine well the Nature of this Structure thoroughly, will be forced to acknowledge that nothing more perfect, more admirable could be conceiv'd, so as to render the whole really magnificent, and a Master piece of Art: 'Tis enough to make us consider, if we should undertake without having this Edifice before our Eyes, that 'tis practicable to build a Fabric, which, without taking up more room than what it does, might accommodate so many thousand Specta-

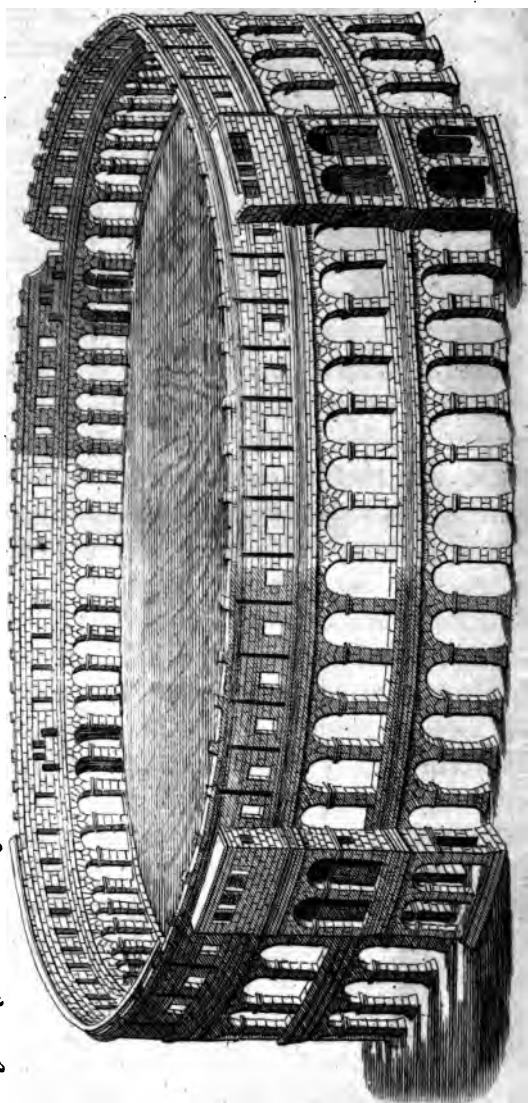
Of AMPHITHEATRES. 373

within nor without. And what an Appearance would it make, if we could at present see the highest part of the Building and the Passages and Stairs which led up to the Lodges, and above these to the highest Corridor? Besides, what shall I say of the great Circumsppection kept up in the whole, the Conivance they use, and the different Admission of Light within it? How very difficult the Invention was, we may learn by observing how the modern Architects have succeeded, when in their Drawings they have endeavour'd only to supply what is wanting and is destroyed, from the great part that remains. Besides, we may gather this likewise, by seeing clearly how very little that which is seen remaining of the Building has been as yet understood. Let us then give the praise due to those Citizens of *Verona*, who by the Provision they sagaciously made for its Support, their great Care therein, and necessary Reparations made from time to time, have, in spite of so many Changes, preserved this Superb Remain of ancient Skill and Grandeur. At the same time we fervently exhort Posterity to continue always the same Care for its Preservation, as those who have liv'd before them have done. Above all, a very watchful Eye must be kept in freeing it from the Damage which frequently ensues, if People should be permitted to live within it. Our Community

374 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

therefore wisely rents out those Places which otherwise would be useless, and the Money thereof is exceedingly well appropriated when Occasion serves, for the Support of the *Arena* itself, as being the Product of its own Vitals. But the places I've just now mentioned would, I think, be always well bestowed, if rented out to those who keep Magazines of Wood or Hay, or Merchandize or Stables, and such kinds of Uses, which don't require Families to live in them; or if any Family should be allow'd to live within it, severe Penalties should be enacted against those who should damage its Walls, or make Holes therein; or build new ones within it, since that would deform the whole Fabric, nor even to practise any Handicraft Work that may spoil or abuse it in any manner whatever. Those indeed are for the most part the only *Goths* and *Vandals*, who in a barbarous manner endeavour to bore Holes through it, or with hard Labour to break those Walls consecrated by the Duration of so many Ages; nor is it less criminal in those who in various ways transform and dab over those parts of the Building which afford so much Instruction to those who understand them aright.





CH A P. XVI.

This Treatise is here ended, by giving an Account of the Theatre of Pola, which till now has been taken for an Amphitheatre.

NOtwithstanding at first I intended to give but a summary Description of our *Arena*, in order to serve for another Work, yet led by the pleasure of new Discoveries, I found my self by little and little engag'd to treat fully about Amphitheatres in general. Accordingly I determin'd to take Journey to *Pola* in *Istria*, about the famous Amphitheatre of which City, I had received very different Accounts; but having, because of the Winter Season, and other Affairs of my own, been hindred some Months from passing over to that Country, which from *Venice* is no more than one hundred French Miles, I arriv'd there at last, after my Treatise was finish'd; but found my self oblig'd to cancel and alter that which, relying on the Faith of Books, and Accounts given me thereof from others, I had formerly wrote.

Pola, the last City of *Italy*, on this side the *Arsa* [where *Istria* runs further out into the *Adriatic*] is so happily situated, that

376 Of AMPHITHEATRES,

'tis no wonder if formerly it has been a large and opulent Place, as the Antiquities there remaining clearly evince. The Situation at *Pola* is exactly like that of *la Spezie* in the *Lunigiana*, at the Top of a large Inlet or Arm of the Sea, capable of containing not only one, but even several Fleets. This Inlet of the Sea is formed by the Continent on the right, and an Isthmus on the left hand, serving as an incomparable and safe Harbour for sheltering against any kind of Wind whatever. The Mouth thereof is towards the West, and is little more than half a Mile in Breadth, and can be on either side safely defended against any Enemy whatever. It is fenced from the Injury of Winds by the Promontory of an Island, or rather a long Rock called *Brioni*; which still continuing under Water, covers it wholly. The Bottom is very good anchoring Ground, and the Water deep enough to float any Man of War. Gallies and large Ships lie so very near to the Shore, that in many places they may lay a Plank over, and load and unload with great Ease. The Distance from the Mouth of the Inlet of the Sea to the City, is about one League. Within it are three small Islands lying athwart, in one of which called *St. Andrea*, by placing a Fort, great Ships can be easily hindered from passing forward, which Ships in going inward have only one Channel to pass thro' betwixt it, and another

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 377

another called *San Pietro*. Besides, there is a Slip of Land, or rather a small *Peninsula* which fences it anew on one side ; and more inwardly, near the City, there is another Island covered with thick Woods and Olive-Trees. The Sea from one part to the other widens, and goes far in on the right hand of the City ; here, between it and the *Arena*, at a small Distance from the Sea, there is a plentiful Spring of excellent Water, about which they have built a Semicircle of small Steps wrought much after the ancient Manner. In the Country all around the City, there are a great many rising Grounds, of which those they have cultivated are very fertile, and full of medicinal and odoriferous Herbs. We find in the Epistles of *Cassiodorus*, that not only Oil and Wine, but a great Quantity of Grain in time of need was brought from *Istria* to *Ravenna*. Fish are here in great plenty. In fine, the Country wants nothing but People and Trade.

The famous Remains of sumptuous Buildings, which were the Workmanship of those Ages wherein Arts flourished, and found nowhere else in *Istria*, nor in the contiguous Parts but at *Pola*, shew for certain, that this City has been the Metropolis of that District ; and on account of its Spendour and Riches, we may believe, that in the higher Ages it has been held in the same Rank of Grandeur, as *Aquileia* was in the lower, situated in the
Country

378 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Country of the *Carni*, and supposed afterwards to be the lesser *Venice* contiguous to *Istria*. The Medals dug up in the District of *Pola*, are almost all of the first Emperors. The Opportunity they had of its Harbour, incited them perhaps at first to make it the Staple-Port for Merchandize of the East, which afterwards was removed to *Aquileia*. As to its Antiquity, we have an Evidence thereof from the current Report that was about it in the time of *Mela* and *Strabo*, of its being founded by the *Colchi*. That it was a splendid City in the first Years of the *Roman* Empire, and superior to the others in its Neighbourhood, appears by a Colony having been established there, either by *Cæsar* or *Augustus*, honoured and distinguished besides, by one of these Emperors with the Name of *Pietas Julia*, as we learn from *Pliny*. *Cæsar* probably may have made it a Colony, since *Istria* and *Dalmatia*, together with the two *Gallie*, were the Provinces allotted him; so that he surely has been at *Pola*, for we know he went into *Illyricum* to hold the judicial Assemblies, as Governour thereof. Notwithstanding all this, the settling a Colony there may with more Probability be attributed to *Augustus*, who established 28 Colonies in different parts of *Italy*, besides the giving the Name of *Julia* to Cities, was more frequently practised by him than by

¹ *Plin. l. 3. c. 19.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 379

Caesar. Another Reason appears by the Temple which still subsists within that City, consecrated to the Goddess *Roma* and *Augustus*, and seems to have been built by the Citizens, as a noble Memorial of their Gratitude for the Benefits they may have received from *Augustus*. And might we not suspect that the Name *Pola* [which seems Latin] might not have been assumed by that City, leaving their old one on account of some important Concession made by, or Advantage sought from *Pola* Sister of *Agrippa*, and for the famous Buildings erected by her, as they are mentioned by ^a *Dio*?

As to Antiquity, I know no City that can boast of having Remains subsisting more noble, large, or so entire as that of *Pola*. The first Author that I find who has spoke of it, is *Peter Martir* of *Anghiera*, a *Milaneze*, sent to *Venice* in Quality of Ambassador from *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Spain*, and to the Sultan of *Babylon* in the Year 1501. This Gentleman wrote an Account of his own Voyage, in which he tells us, that he went from *Venice* to *Pola*; into the Harbour of the latter he arrived with his Gallies, there he observed *two ancient Theatres*, and an Arch with Inscriptions, and many Stones with various Readings on them, about forty of which he transcribed and gave an Account of. The next Author after him, who

^a *Lib. 55. Πωλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῆς.*

380 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

has spoke of *Pola*, is the most excellent Architect *Serlio*, who in his third Book has treated of the Theatre, Amphitheatre, and Arch there, and has given Plans, Views, and the Parts thereof. *Justus Lipsius* copied after him the Plan of what they believed to be an Amphitheatre, and *Palladio* represented two ancient Temples at *Pola*. In the last Age, *Antonio de Ville*, an Engineer, who built the Fort which is there at present, and has wrote about Fortification, published an Account of this Place, in which he gave a Draught of an Arch, a Temple, and a Sketch of the *Arena*, tho' in a very clumsy manner, and very ill drawn. At present the Arch remains entire, as does likewise the foresaid Temple, and the other near it, which very much resembles it, the back part thereof joining close to it; nor can I say in what other place are Capitals, Cornishes, and *Corinthian* Freezes of such delicate Sculpture to be found, or in such plenty, or so well preserved. The Prints which have been engraven thereof, serve only to shew these things entirely different from what they are. Of the Inscriptions I have only found five existing, many others having been cruelly destroyed, and indeed but lately; since a certain new Building was erected at this Place, as if there had been a Scarcity of Stones in that Country.

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 381

I heard in *Venice*, that some have desired the *Arena* of *Pola* might be transported thither in the manner I mentioned, when I had occasion to speak of transporting the Arch of *Susa* to *Turin*; but such a great Undertaking as that of the Amphitheatre, I cannot advise should be attempted, for several Reasons, tho' I shall be bold to say, that I think it very practicable to transport the Arch there, and likewise the best preserved of the small Temples; since those few who live there, and for the most part are Strangers, have no manner of Taste for such things. By this a most useful School for Architecture might be set on foot, and every one learn in what manner the *Corinthian* ought really to be wrought, being sufficient to shew how much more beautiful and graceful the Works of the Ancients are, and how much better conducted than some of our modern Performances, so full of Extravagancies, or rather Folly. But since there are some who think the transporting such Buildings impossible, I shall at present add the Manner practised therein by the *Romans* in their most noble publick Buildings, as I have elsewhere describ'd, to whom it neither was unknown, nor deemed impracticable; I mean, to transport Buildings from one place to another: of which *Spartianus* gives an Evidence, where he says, that *Hadrian*, besides
the

384 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

word *Theatre*, since the Greek *Theta*, on account of the Pronunciation at that time was changed into a *Zeta*: So that from *Θηρα* they have made it *Zecca*; hence, in the popular way of speaking, they have robbed it of two Letters, and made it *Zacca*. In *Latine* it was wrote *Zadrium* and *Zadrum*; this I learn from a written Record of the Year 1303, inserted in a large Volume, which I keep among my Manuscripts, and which contains an ample Collection of famous *Venetian* Records. In that same MS. there is an account of the Jurisdictions which the Patriarch of *Aquileia* held in *Istria*, when mention is made of *Pola*; the words are, *Et habet ibi duo antiqua Palatia, scilicet, Jadrum, & Harenam, & Palatium unum in Platea Civitatis, & quasdam alias Domos; & quicumque accipit aliquem Lapidem de dictis Palatiis Jadri, & Harenæ, pro quolibet lapide quem accipit solvit Domino Patriarchæ Byzantiis centum.* This is a curious Account and Circumstance, shewing, that in the very dark Ages, they had even a much greater Veneration for the Monuments of Antiquity, than what we find in times when Erudition is more in vogue; there having been then the no small Penalty inflicted of a hundred Pieces on any that should rob the Theatres of *Pola* of so much as one single Stone, in order to apply it to other uses. Which, indeed, has been

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 385

been but too much practised every where; and from which the fatal Ruin of Antiquity has ensued, much more than from the Irruptions of the *Barbarians*, or Time itself. *Serlio* bestows great Encomiums on the Remains of the Theatre already mentioned, affirming, that the ingenious Architect thereof had made choice of the Mount whereon it was placed, for placing part of the Steps; as was practised in building other Theatres. The *Orchestra* was made in the level part of the Area, as were the Scene and the other Buildings thereunto belonging. Besides, he gave us to understand, that it was of the *Corinthian* Order, and exceedingly rich as to its Workmanship and Stone, with a great number of Pillars and double Stairs, with Ornaments of Gates and Windows, both within and without. Several wrought Pieces remain near the Fort, which have not been made use of: I have observed that of the few which do remain, some are of *Grecian* Marble, whereas all the other Antiquities there, are of Marble of the Country round about *Pola*.

On the other side of the City, at a small Distance, and no more than perhaps the length of 200 Pearches of Ground from the Sea-side, stands the Arena, as it was called in the middle Ages. There is nothing besides the external Circuit to be seen at present; nor, indeed, could more have been

386 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

seen at any time, because the inner parts were of Wood; but the Building in general is a Miracle, for being so well preserved; since throughout the whole Circuit, from top to bottom, there is nothing wanting except about two Arms length in the upper Story. As the Drawing I have given thereof shews when it was begun to be destroy'd by another shallow-brain'd Engineer, in order likewise to make use of the Stones for his own Schemes; but a stop was immediately put to that, being a piece of Barbarity still the more execrable, when we consider that the Country abounds with nothing so much as Stone. The destroying these things of Antiquity is, however, so much contrary to the Inclination of the Community, that in the common Instructions given to the Governors of *Pola*, the Legislature has enjoin'd them to preserve the Antiquities there carefully. In effect, since these things have happened, it is not long since, with an admirable Care, the Government has caused several Vineyards to be removed, which, from the side of the Mount, without any intermediate Space, had been brought as far as the Pilasters of this Building. Besides what has been already mentioned, the arched Roof of one of the principal Gates is wanting, and some Stones of the contiguous Row of Pilasters of the second Story towards the bottom; where, by one only Stone remaining

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 387

in the middle, and not broader than two Feet six Inches, the whole Weight above has been since supported; having another above it, which is not imbedded, except for about the breadth of eight Inches, and is still hanging out of the Building about the length of three Feet. Likewise there is a considerable part of that Bench [if we may call it so] which runs round the top of the Building, wanting: This excepted, the whole Circuit is entire; and here only may we enjoy the incredible and inexplicable fine Effect it has to the Eye; and as much on the outside as on the inner, we behold such a sumptuous Circuit, with all its Apertures, and in its full height, no ways prejudiced at the bottom by any Rubbish brought thither from other places, which at *Rome* and *Verona* covers a considerable part of these Buildings. The Beauty of its Appearance is increased very much by the Whiteness of the Stones, and the Preservation thereof the more admirable, in proportion as the whole Circuit is isolated, and not joined in the inner-side by any Wall that knits it together. But now 'tis time to shew that which at first will appear very strange, namely, that the Edifice of *Pola* [notwithstanding it is shut up all around, and has exactly the same number of Arches with that of the Amphitheatre of *Verona*] is, however, no Amphitheatre at all.

388 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

At first, when at Sea, I beheld this majestic and wonderful Pile, according to that Prospect of it which I have shewn in the Copper-plate. Scarcely had I greedily fixed my Eyes thereon, than I told those who had come in company with me, that I suspected it to be a Theatre only. Two Motives immediately induced me to think so; one, that at that Distance the Building appeared different from the oval Figure of Amphitheatres elsewhere: that Passage of *Pausanias* occurring to my Mind, which I have quoted in the first Book, namely, that *Trajan* built a large Theatre, circular in every part thereof. The other was, that the two Turrets I saw on the outside thereof, which in no ways could belong to an Amphitheatre; at the same time I remember'd, that in some of the Theatres in *Candia*, delineated by *Honorio Belli*, some such like Appendages appear, which he calls Counterforts; tho', by not finding them entire, and by having, perhaps, adapted his Plans to the common Idea of Theatres, he places and considers them in a different manner. But all doubt about this was at an end, after I had set my Foot within its superb Enclosure, since I saw one side of it built on the Declivity of a piece of ground, with a Slope, the foot of which comes to be comprised within it, in order and form for having the Steps placed thereon. Its Declivity shews excellently well, the Gradation

Of AMPHITHEATRES 389

tion of these Steps, as the Curvature does their Semicircular Form, which filled little less than half of the Space broad-ways. Lower down, there still remains the Passage or Floor of the *Podium*, which is very well distinguished by the little Rising-ground seen there. 'Tis known how the Ancients, in the building their Theatres, made use of such an advantageous Situation, where-ever they could have it, saving by the Slope of the Ground, the Expence of having Portico's and Vaults, which otherwise were necessary for supporting the Steps. Besides, on the same side where the Slope was, they saved a great part of the Building of the external Circuit too. However, in this, where the Front towards the Sea has three Stories, nay, a little further, there is a small Basement of about three or four Feet in Dimension, under the lower Pilasters on the outside, which serves to supply the Ground which turns to slope. The part towards the Mount has only two Stories, as may be seen by the Draught. Beyond the two principal Gates that are at the two Points of the Extremities, length-ways, the Mount begins to rise and the lowermost Pilasters to lose themselves; where, at the third they are quite lost. They commonly believe in that Country, that they appear so by being hid under-ground; and some, in order to be sure of that, have dug, but they have found that which the Continuation of the Rising-ground

C c 3

390 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

ground might have made plain to them, namely, that, the Foundation excepted, no part of the Building there is hid. The Ground accordingly, in that place proceeds inwardly into the Field or Area, in a semicircular Form, sloping; where, in the opposite part, the three Stories are seen entire and uncovered. This is sufficient for giving us to understand for certain, that the whole Fabric was only a Theatre.

But the Ground, from the side opposite to the Stairs, affords a Proof no less certain for confirming what has been said, because here it rises about three Feet; as much as was fit for placing a Stage for the Actors, a plain Area remaining in the middle very fit for the *Orchestra* of a Theatre, tho' not sufficient for that of an Amphitheatre. The Mark of a Wall is observable in several Places, for which reason I caused them to dig here and there, to see if it was possible to make out the Form of the Scene; nay, I'm certain, some People would unquestionably place it here, and describe it accordingly: but, for my own part, I never can be induced to amuse myself with Imagination only, or to represent what I do not see; I shall therefore say candidly, that from the few and uncertain Foundations and Vestiges of the Building discovered by me, I was not able to come at the true Form of the Scene. Inasmuch therefore as I was in doubt about this,

OF AMPHITHEATRES. 391

his; I was equally confirmed in the Opinion, that the whole was a Theatre, but not an Amphitheatre; because I found a piece of a Wall in a straight Line fronting the Spectators, which never could have been in an Amphitheatre, nor the under Part of the Row of Pilasters in that Situation, because they never could have served for supporting circular Steps and Vaults, which must have gone round the whole. The Walls, however, which I observed, could serve for nothing but a Foundation, and must have been at least but very little raised above ground; for it appears plain by several Marks, that what was for the most part built up within this Fabric, was of Wood, tho' it likewise seems evident that here and there it was otherwise, since from the part of the Auditory on the Descent of the Wall, hollowed Stones are very frequently seen for receiving the ends of the Beams within them, which going cross, supported the Floor of the higher Lodge: These Hollows or Mortises in *Vitruvius's* time, were by the *Latins* called *Columbarii*, and by the *Greeks*, *Beats for the Beams*; but the like is not to be seen on the part where the Scene is.

Being confirmed in the Opinion that this Building was a Theatre, I began to think what the Use of the external Appendages or Turrets may have been, since they never

^a *Vitruv. l. 4. cap. 2.*

392 Of AMPHITHEATRES

could have belong'd to an Amphitheatre. *Serlio* calls them *Contraforti*, and supposes them made in order not to leave the Wall quite abandoned; but he never saw them himself, [as I shall quickly make evident] and accordingly did not represent them but only by a Plan mark'd out with three Pilasters, by which no Mortal could imagine what kind of an Elevation they may have had: That they were not by way of Buttresses, is manifest by their Form; because they are plac'd above the Arches, and isolated Pilasters, like the rest; and because they could have served to little purpose in so ample a Round.

Having my self seen them entire, and preserved, has given me so much Light into the Matter, as I think is sufficient for knowing their Use. You may therefore observe in the last Plate of all at the Letter D, where the inner View of them is seen, that the said interior Prospect of them in the upper Orders represents here and there a House consisting of two Stories, with two Entries, and as many Windows in every one of them. So that I am persuaded, they belong'd to a part of the comic Scene representing Mansions, which may, in the Dramatic Performances, have been variously made use of. In effect, there was no Way on the outside to get up to these Rooms, nor are there any Remains of Stairs on the inner side, but rather of Stages
and

Of AMPHITHEATRES 393

and Floorings. That the representing *private Buildings with Windows* was part of the comic Scene, ⁶ *Vitruvius* informs us.

Among the other Parts belonging to the Theatre, ⁷ *Pollux* reckons *the House with two Stories in it*; we cannot wish for a better Confirmation of what is just now mentioned: For afterwards he says, from it the old Women and the Panders used to look down, and peep about them. From those high Prospects some use or another may have been made in the tragic Scene too, and when there was Occasion they may have made the Spectators see through the two Gates or Apertures, which ⁸ *Vitruvius* says were *on the right and left*, and served for those Personages introduced in the Drama, as representing Foreigners, to come out on the Stage, since the middle part was filled up with the Royal Gates, and the Train belonging to the Court. Perhaps those two lateral Passages were those called *trapæxonía* spoke of by *Pollux*, and surely not well understood by *Perault*, when he says they are the same with the *Retro-scena*. We likewise read in *Pollux*, that in the Tragedies the House with the two Stories represented sometimes two Parlors, or high Places like Towers, from whence they could see at a distance; and

⁶ L. 5. c. 8. *Fenestris dispositis imitatione communium adificiorum.*

⁷ Pol. l. 4. cap. 19. *Συκευία.*

⁸ L. 5. c. 7. *Dextra ac sinistra Hospitalia.*

394 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

we read that the Gate on the right Hand [by which Name I understand the Apertures of the Front] was the Habitation of those who acted the *second Part*, not the *second Act*, as it is rendered in *Latin*. It was common in both the *Latin* and *Greek* Theatres to represent the Scene, from nothing else but one single Partition Wall or Front of a Building with three Doors; which *Plautus* shews to be filled up, and almost shut by the painted Machines, and other Things which turned on Pivots, by which Form it would very ill agree with that which I have been conjecturing concerning Houses represented at a distance in the Theatre of *Pala*; but neither in that manner, nor without the Point in Perspective could the Scene ever be, nor is it possible to account for every thing exactly, since we may be persuaded that notwithstanding the many Drawings we have of modern Masters, of those parts of the Theatre which serv'd for Representation; that Affair is, however, still left very much in the dark. I shall add here, that in the Circuit of the Theatre of *Pala*, these two small Houses afford a very agreeable Prospect, being plac'd in the Situation of the Auditory. For the exterior Windows corresponded to the inner Doors closed by Stone curiously perforated and made like Flower-work, which by the

Τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἀγασσάμενος καταράτορ.

Clearness

Of AMPHITHEATRES 395

Clearness of the Air shining through it; delights the Eye on either side wonderfully.

This, if I mistake not, is, I think, the End and Design of such Appendages having been made to the Building; and here the Manner of the Windows of the Ancients is learned, and a Piece of the *Greek* Scene discovered, never delineated hitherto but in Imagination; and here we have the Intention of those three Pilasters marked out in four different Places by *Serlio* in his Plan of the Building of *Pola*; and by *Belli* in some of these in *Candia*: And here above all, do we come to understand a-new that Theatres were made in two different Manners, one after the common Method, with a semicircular Contour on one side, and square on the other; and another, never before known, with an Inclosure shut up, and an entire Circumference, after the manner of an Amphitheatre. There is no Inconsistency however in finding a Theatre in that Form, it being of consequence that the Portico or covered Place [which *Vitruvius* says they made behind the *Scena* as a Shelter against any sudden Rain which might happen to fall] was in a straight Line, or in a Curve; nay, *Isidorus* was of opinion, that all Theatres were at first of a round Form like the Amphitheatres, and the foresaid *Retro Portico* might very well have been placed from the Space

396 OF AMPHITHEATRES.

of the thirteen Arches which are in the Building at *Pola* between both the little Houses. At present we may understand that Passage of *Pausanias*, which without this could never have been explained; namely, that *Trajan* had built a great Theatre circular in every part: circular must here be understood in a popular, not a mathematical Sense. The Drawing I exhibit here, shews what this Theatre was, and gives us to understand that tho' of a curved Form, and shut up in every part, it was however not an Amphitheatre; so that it was even by *Spartians* called a Theatre. *Pausanias* by taking notice of the foresaid Particular of its Roundness, shews that such a Form was not common to every Theatre; and his saying that it was a large Theatre, indicates that the Theatres built in that manner, were more sumptuous than the others. *Bell* having found in *Candia* several Theatres not unlike this, gives us to understand that this was the *Greek* manner of building them; however perhaps *Hadrian* may have caused it to be demolished, because therein he did not care to deviate from the *Roman* Custom. For which Reason this of *Pola* may have been built after the *Greek* manner, as not being remote from the Country of *Greece*, as indeed the Manner seen in all the other pieces of Antiquity in that Place, seem to indicate that they were made by *Grecian* Architects.

Great

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 397.

Great Objections may be made by many against all I have said on this Head, since they find that *Serlio*, who treats about this Building, has in his whole Plan thereof, represented it as an Amphitheatre; but I may very well say, that wretched Antiquity always has had this Misfortune attending it, namely, that the representing to Readers the Dreams and Imaginations of Authors as Truth and Fact, have never been esteemed by the World to be Cheats and Impostures. On the other hand, in *Montfaucon's* Book of *Antiquities*, 'tis said, that the Fabric of *Pola* had but six Steps within it, but larger than in other such Buildings; which ridiculous Thought [whether understood of a Theatre or Amphitheatre] makes me at a loss to imagine where he pick'd it up. *Serlio*, I own, was in general very faithful in his Accounts of things, tho' I must say he went out of the way, and was misled in what he related about *Pola*; for he never was there himself, but probably sent some young Man or other of his Acquaintance to survey them, who has surely served him very ill in that matter. That he never was there himself, I argue, in the first place, from his own Drawings, and from his having said, that *the Arena was situated in the middle of the City*, since it certainly is at a good distance from it; and when he asserts that the *Cornishes are better understood, and of a finer*

398 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Taste than in the Amphitheatre of *Rome*. So being himself persuaded into the Belief by the entire Circumference of the Building, that it was an Amphitheatre, he figur'd out, on the inner side of the Building, Parts in imitation of those within the Amphitheatre of *Verana*, tho' of all this there is not the least Mark remaining. Others likewise may perhaps, with very great difficulty be induced to believe it to have been a Theatre, for having heard that there was another Theatre at *Pola*. But in the first place, we learn from the written Text of *Honorio Belli*, that there were not few Cities which had more Theatres than one within them. And 2^{dly}, since I myself have seen it, I have with no small Probability been able to discover, that the other Building in *Pola* [tho' described as a Theatre, and accordingly delineated as such by *Serlio*, and called so in the dark Ages, when such Names were given at random] was in effect no Theatre at all, but a magnificent Palace. And as the Remembrance of a Palace there is still preserved in that Country, and as such it appeared to *de Ville*; neither do the Remains thereof which I found, indicate it to have been a Theatre. It was placed under a rising Ground, but the lower part cut and levelled in two places, and has never been considered as a Theatre. The four large Pillars of *Grecian* Marble which are seen on the side of the great Altar





Of AMPHITHEATRES. 399

the Church *della Salute*, and transported here from the forementioned Building, I cannot conceive where they could have had a proper place in a Theatre. The Question may be asked of me, that allowing such to have been the use of these two Turrets that are described towards the *Scena*; for what purpose could the other two over against those already described have been made? but it is well known on one hand, that because of the Beauty of Agreement in Fabrics, several things are often made which serve for Appearance only; and it is evident on the other hand, that of these small Rooms which joined with the higher Lodges, various uses may have been made for the Convenience of the Spectators. It is likewise observable, that those on the other side are not complete, but want the Floor in the middle.

In order therefore to give some precise Account of this so very noble an Enclosure, we think fit to acquaint the Reader, that the greatest length thereof, from one Gate to the other, is 370 *Venetian* Feet, its Breadth 300, the total Circuit amounts to 1110. The *Venetian* Foot is something more than the eighth part of an Inch larger than that of *Verona*. The Height of the Building on the side towards the Sea, is eighty six Feet, including the six allowed for the Basement at the foot, and about other five for the Bench or Out-jutting, which is above the highest

400 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

highest Ridge of the Building. The number of the Arches round the whole Fabric are 72, the same as that of *Verona*; tho' for all that, the Bulk of it is not the same, the Breadth of the Pilasters and Apertures being less in that of *Pola*. The Disposition of them are thus: The great Gate at the End of the Oval has nine Arches on each side, hence two on each hand are doubled on the Out-side, and support the two Towers or Houses; next follow 13 Arches in the two middle parts of the Building broadways, then other two with the Turrets, then other nine on each side, and the Gate corresponding. The Work is rustic made with Knobs or Protuberances, by some called *Sbozzi*, without being smoothed, or of a regular Bigness one with another, in the Measures of the different pieces, exactly like those of *Verona*, tho' the Whiteness of the Stone, [the Quarry out of which they were taken, I was directed to see three Miles distant from the Place] caused the Building at *Pola* to appear much more beautiful and genteel than the *Veronese* Amphitheatre. As to the Order of the Architecture, some would call it *Doric*, others *Tuscan*; the rustic Work would incline us to believe it such; but of this we shall speak very soon: However, below, the Parts are arbitrary; and above, so very different and plain, that no Order can positively be determined therein. Some Architects have in a
certain

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 401

certain manner in their Books on that Art, have introduced an Order different from those which are common, calling the Buildings which are covered with such Protuberances as are above mentioned, the rustic Order : This Inclosure confirms such an Opinion, shewing indeed a Manner very different from that of the other classick Orders. There has been no Cement or Mortar made use of in this Building, but the Stones bound together with their common Links of Iron leaded, which for the most part, both within, and on the Out-side of the Building, have been taken away and carried off: So that throughout the whole, the common Holes seen in other such Buildings are perceived. In Plate XV. A. shews the Perspective View of the Building, B. the External of the Turrets, C. the Internal, and their Sides, as likewise the Profile of the Wall of the Inclosure, with its Ridge ; D. shews the Architectonic Parts of the first Story, E. the second, F. the third, and what is at the Top.

The lower Pilasters are square, and little less than five Feet in Thickness. The Apertures for the Admission of Light, are about the Dimension of 10 Feet each ; or if you will from nine Feet six, to ten Feet six, because they vary considerably as they do in all the like kind of Buildings. The two largest Gates have the Arches somewhat higher than the others ; their Apertures are about 15 Feet.

D d

Their

402 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Their arched Roofs have likewise the Stones smoothed, and the three in the middle on the inner-side project half a Foot. The Height of the Pilasters from the Floor to their Capitals, or if you will, to the Impost, is about ten Feet six Inches. The Impost is one Foot six Inches high, and was ten Inches of Projection. There are no Numbers carved on the Arches as were necessary in Amphitheatres, and as are seen in those of *Verona* and *Rome*. On the side towards the Sea, the Pedestal or Under-Pilaster, which, with excellent Contrivance and Skill has been placed at the foot of the Building, in order to supply the Sinking which the Ground makes in the Declivity, rises in all five Feet six Inches, having above it a large Basement, upon which there is the Pilaster; which Basement on the outside, has a Cornish with its Members, representing the Capital of the Pilaster below, on the Inner-side that Space is filled up by the Ground which there is higher than the rest.

The Arch, from the Pavement to the Key-Stone, is 17 Feet 4, the arched Vault or Roof is 2 Feet 2 Inches; the rough *Fascia*, which supply the Architrave and Freeze, are each of them something less than 2 Feet: The Cornish is little more than two Feet, and projects about one and a half. In the middle of the Pilaster is the plain Pillar which fences the Impost, and with its Capital rises 1 Foot 5; and on the
outside

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 403

outside 6 Inches, in order to support the Architrave. But we must remark, that the Impost is so deeply cut, because of its great Projection, that it is somewhat disagreeable to the Eye; which Particular we don't observe in that of *Verona*.

In the second Story the Pilasters are 4 Feet 4 thick, the Height of the Arch 19 and 2 Inches; from which, by considering its Conformity with the lower Story, we may judge what the other Measures have been. The Cornish, that is, the Impost intersected here by the plain Pillar, projects further than it about seven Inches, and more than the Roof of the higher Arch, nine Inches.

In the third Story, instead of Arches, the like number of Windows go round, each of them 5 Feet 8 Inches broad, and 7 Feet 8 high; from the Cornish below to the Window 4 Feet, and from the Window upward near to seven. But this part seems to be of a new Contrivance, because first, there is a Row of Stones which serve for a Traverse above the Windows; then there is a small and low Cornish, which appears out of all order and use; then two high and rough *Fasciae*; next, a Ridge, which is in place of a great Cornish, insomuch, that whereas commonly the Ornament encreases by rising, here it diminishes, since the Cornish of the lower Story has nine Members, among which, almost in the middle, there is a Lintel, or flat Stone, by way of a Selvidge, with a Water-Spout which seems

404 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

to divide it into two parts, being above three Inches high. The Cornish of the second Story has four Members only, being filled up with a *Guscio*, little less than the half in Dimension; but at the top there is indeed no Cornish, but only a Ridge, the Projection of which is somewhat hid by the Degradation which the Wall has in the third Story. This Ridge, hollowed above like a Channel, has below it a Lift, scarcely seen, then a Convexity for about a Foot and a half; next, a Border, about half a Foot in Dimension, which at regular Distances has square Holes within it, for discharging the Water, and in them there have been Pipes for throwing it off at a distance. Besides, on the inner side, it comes out a Foot further than the Wall, to make the Appearance the more agreeable, and likewise to serve as a Counterballance. The Position and Manner with which the higher part is built, shew how very properly the Ancients term'd it *Corona*, and it looks something like as if the Building was crowned at the top; which makes ¹ *Vitruvius* the better understood, where he says, that at the top of the Walls, under the Tiles, the *Projectures of the Coronæ were placed*, in order to keep off the Water.

But what Water must this have been? That, surely, which fell upon the Roof of

¹ *Lib. 2. c. 8.*

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 405

the Lodges, which were placed on the Top of the *Auditorium*, and above the Roof of the higher Portico on the other side. How such Water was cast forth in the Amphitheatre, and what Course they made it take, none have considered; and we can give but an imperfect account thereof, since neither here nor at *Rome*, has the very top part of all been entirely preserved. It is credible however, that it was by Pipes enclosed within the Partition-Walls, which may have led into the Conduits. For some pieces of Pipes of Metal have been found at *Verona*.

The finishing part of the Building of *Pola*, at the top, differs from that of any other Fabric whatever, since above the Hollow of the Ridge, in a perpendicular Line with the lowermost Pilasters, certain small Pedestals rise, about two Feet in Dimension; above which, a small Bench runs round, as may be seen in the Drawing; or, if you will, a Lift, narrower than the Wall. The Stones of this are seen in two places hollowed square, as if they were Conduits for Water; and for some Arms-length on one place you see, that above it, another has run which covered that one below. By observing this, I remembered that *Theatrical Water* mentioned by * *Symmachus*, of which none could ever find out the meaning. Perhaps sometimes they made the Resemblance of

* *Lib. 4. Ep. 8.*

406 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Fountains or other Curiosities, by which it was necessary to have Water which should descend from above. The Hollows which are seen betwixt the Windows, served for Beams set on End, made to rest within the like number of Dyes of Stone, about a Foot and four Inches square. These rest on the Cornish below, exactly like what we have already described at *Verona*, and remain eight Inches further within it : but their square Hole is larger, and near the Wall, correspondent with the Hollow thereof, and not in the middle, and isolated like ours of the third Story, which served for another use. The Beams then cut the little Cornish above the Windows; hence they pierced the upper one, or, if you will, the Ridge, and served for the *Velarium*.

. On the inside, the whole Wall is smooth, without Cornishes, as being covered by the boarded Flooring; unless it was by the Imposts of the Arches in the Ground-plot, which proceed likewise in the inside. Those of the second are not found finished any where, but above the Angles, the rest being left rough and unpolished. The Retiring of the Wall, which is visible in its going up, is both towards the inner-side and the out-side too; inso-much, that it proceeds by a Degradation above that Stone which forms the Architrave on the outside, and more largely in the Degradation

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 407

gradation of the second Story; so that the third is reduced to a small Thickness. At the Top, the Holes already mentioned, as having the Corona or Crown on the External, has it likewise on the inside, but without Projection; and it seems to have been appropriated for having Wood put into it. The internal part was certainly of Wood, there being no Marks of Vaults on the Degradation of the Wall, in which they may have been inlaid or imposed; nor in any other place, of Walls which joined them. Nevertheless, at the Points of the Steps, and in some other places, there have been pieces of a Wall, or Pilasters isolated, in which the Beams must have been secured and laid.

There remains nothing but the Appendages of the inner Furniture, of which we have already treated sufficiently.

The External part of them is that which is seen at the Letter B. and their Side is that at C. their Prominence is about ten Feet in Dimension. Between the one and the other of the double Pillars, there is an empty Space for about five Feet in Dimension, which forms Entries, and on the side of the higher Stories there are two Windows. In the middle Story, the Voids are shut up by a Partition-Wall, even to the Imposts; on a level with that, there is a small Cornish. The two Half-moons are closed by Grates of white Stone, like little triangular Beams, which admit Air and

408 Of AMPHITHEATRES.

Light. In the upper Story there are four Windows, with Branches or Grates of Stone, bored artificially with a different kind of Work in those of the middle, from the other two.

I ordered them to dig very deep before the great Gate towards the City, but found no Remains of any Vestibul there, nor of any other Ornament that may have been there; nor any broken pieces of Pillars or Marble: So neither found we any Well like that at *Verona*; nor, indeed, was there need of any, since, by the Slope towards the Sea, it was very easy to carry off the Water. However, about two Feet from, and over-against the Auditorium, in a strait Line, we found a Conduit under-ground, within which a Man can stand up erect. It is in some places covered with a Vault, in others with large Flags, but the lateral Walls have not the *Strata* of square Stones, nor the fine Order or Magnificence as is in that of *Verona*; nor has it the Cement so very much hardned, nor mixed with Peebles, but brittle, like our modern Walls. Near this Conduit I found two others, lesser in Size, which go straight towards the Sea, which carried off the Rain-Water, the Dirt and other Soil, gathered within the Theatre. I would willingly have mentioned likewise the Remains believed to be of two Amphitheatres, seen in *Sicily*, if the distinct Information and Drawings of them [which some People there,

Of AMPHITHEATRES. 409

in a very genteel manner, have procured for me] had been come to my hands. I, however, read in the *Historical Memoirs* of the Abbot *Caruso*, [who very civilly sent me them when they were published by him] that of the Amphitheatre pretended to be at *Syracuse*, *very few Remains are subsisting*; which is as much as to say, they are obscure and uncertain.

F I N I S.



A P P E N D I X.

CARDINAL *Albani* has been often pleased to bestow Favours upon me, but more particularly at present, in sending a perfect Drawing of his most noble and rare Medallion delineated by his own Direction; it consists of two different kinds of Metals, is exceedingly well preserved, and the same I mentioned in the fifth Chapter of Book the first; and tho' I had finished the printing this Treatise when it came to my Hands, yet I was unwilling to neglect communicating an Account of it to the Republick of the Learned, but to give it a place in this Part of my Book, and in the best manner I could.



That

APPENDIX 411

That Figure which is seen among the Spectators is very remarkable, and seems to denote the Emperor in a sitting Posture. That a Shadow as it were of this, appears also in a like Medalion of the great Duke [represented in the first Plate annexed to this Treatise, tho' not express'd in my Drawing of it] I learn from *Spanheim*, who was in the right when he said that one of the Beasts represented thereon, was an Elephant, and it is indeed much better seen in this Médalion than in any other whatever; tho' we cannot perceive, as he asserted, that the Senators are in the *Orchestra*, of which we made mention already in its proper Place. The *Colossus* which stands on one side of the Building, has Rays around the Head, which seem to denote *Apollo*; but it gives us no room to believe it the *Colossus* of *Nero* changed into an *Apollo* by *Vespasian*, since *Commodus* had taken off the Head from it, and in its place put on his own. I observe here in a particular manner, that no Statues are seen around the Building, which confirms what I have already mentioned on that Particular; instead of them it would seem as if other Pillars were represented in the middle, and as if the View of the Building had been taken side-ways, representing at the same time those of the second Rows of Arches, tho' the inner-side of the Fabric is shewn in Front. But with regard to Perspective in those times, any thing may be

3
imagined,

412 APPENDIX

imagined, and of which no certain Judgment can be made. In that Medalion of *Florence* with Statues on it, which was sent me, *Spanheim* represents nothing at all of that kind in it, but makes the Voids of the Arches quite empty; neither in it is the Emperor shewn with a Shield; hence we cannot then perceive how he can be represented marching on Horseback, with a Victory before him, having a Laurel Crown in her hand, and a Soldier following behind.

In another Medalion which I have seen of the same *Gordian*, such Figures serve for the Reverse; and it appears that from it this Representation was taken, in order afterwards to be figured out on the Shield of *Probus*.

N. B. The Author of this Translation thinks proper to acquaint the Reader, that in the original *Italian*, several Passages [relating to the Subject treated of in general] were added by the Marquis *Maffei* by way of Appendix at the end of his Book, and Reference made to particular Pages of the said Treatise where they were to be inserted; most of which are in this Translation put into the Body of the Book, and added to the Text.

INDEX.

I N D E X.

	<i>Page.</i>
A <i>Mphitheatres</i> , the true Motive for erecting them.	3
Their original Name was <i>Theatrum Venatorium.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
Their Original in <i>Rome.</i>	23
Of <i>Verona</i> , probably built in the Times near the Reigns of <i>Titus.</i>	153
Most likely in the Reigns of <i>Domitian</i> and <i>Nerva.</i>	154
That it was erected probably at the Expence of the People of <i>Verona</i> themselves.	155, 156
Of <i>Verona</i> , receiv'd great Damage in the sixth Age, by the new Wall they then built to that City, in the Reign of <i>Theodoric.</i>	174
Several of them, by whom published and described.	199
The Cuts about them in this Book, by whom delineated and engraven.	
A great Difference in the Building between that of <i>Rome</i> and that of <i>Verona</i> , with regard to the outer Walls.	216
<i>Lippius</i> mistakes the true Reason for the Ground about them being so much raised.	219
A Description of the inner Enclosure, and other inward Parts of the Building.	286, 287, 288
The Plan or Ground-plot thereof explain'd.	289
The	

I. N D E X.

	Pag.
<i>Amphitheatre</i> , the second Story thereof, and its Plan, explained.	292, 293
<i>Amphitheatrical Games</i> were quite left off in the sixth Century.	71
<i>Games</i> , to whom consecrated.	253
<i>Antoninus Pius</i> , the first who repaired the Amphitheatre.	42
<i>Alexander Severus</i> repaired several ancient Fabrics.	43
<i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> , no Amphitheatres there.	89, 90, 91, 92
<i>Asia</i> , no Amphitheatres there.	84, 85
<i>Aquileia</i> , no Amphitheatre there.	102
<i>Arena</i> and <i>Cavea</i> , these Words promiscuously used for Theatre and Amphitheatre.	113
Of <i>Verona</i> , no Lime, Mortar or Cement made use of in that Building.	213
The inner Passages thereof described.	247
<i>Archivolti</i> , <i>Volti</i> , <i>Voluta</i> , their Signification.	178
<i>Arches</i> in the Amphitheatres of <i>Rome</i> and <i>Verona</i> , their Number.	217
Those of <i>Nimes</i> , <i>Capua</i> , &c. how many.	218
<i>Architraves</i> , the manner they are kept from breaking.	307
<i>Apuleius</i> , his Accounts about the Amphitheatre not to be relied on.	318
<i>Bestiarii</i> distinguished from the Gladiators.	68
<i>Bergamo</i> and <i>Brescia</i> had no Amphitheatres in them.	103
<i>Books</i> , the wrong Notion People have about them when they only seek for those that are bulky, and make a pompous Figure to the Eye.	192

Benches

I N D E X

	Pag.
<i>Benches</i> , or Precincts, in the Amphitheatre, in what manner they were disposed.	276, 277
<i>Circus</i> , within it were performed the Races of the <i>Bige</i> and <i>Quadrigæ</i> .	15
<i>Maximus</i> , a Description thereof.	<i>ibid.</i>
A Ditch dug round it, in the inside, by the Order of <i>Cæsar</i> .	16
<i>Caius Curio Maximus</i> , the two Theatres of Wood made by him.	17
A Description thereof	17, 18
<i>Caligula</i> began an Amphitheatre, but never finished it.	27
<i>Claudius</i> , the gladiatory Games exhibited by him in the <i>Septa</i> .	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Coliseum</i> , the Name given to <i>Vespasian's</i> Amphitheatre at <i>Rome</i> , not on account of a <i>Colossus</i> of <i>Nero</i> there.	33
The Measures of that Amphitheatre.	202, 203
The Orders of Architecture in that Building.	204, 205
Of the vast Number of Spectators it contained.	317
<i>Ciampini</i> , <i>Monsieur</i> , the Stone mentioned to be in his Collections about <i>Theodoric's</i> repairing the <i>Coliseum</i> , fabulous.	45
<i>Constantinus</i> , Emperor, the first Laws enacted against bloody Games began in his Time, <i>Anno Dom.</i> 325.	67
Criminals punished in the Amphitheatres.	70
Colonies of the <i>Romans</i> , no Amphitheatres built in them.	73, 74
<i>Capua</i> , but three Inscriptions remaining there, relating to the Amphitheatre.	105

Capua,

I N D E X

	<i>Pag.</i>
<i>Capua</i> , the Amphitheatre there, by whom probably built.	145, 146, 147
Some Defects in the Drawing of the Amphitheatre there.	312
<i>Cremona</i> and <i>Bologna</i> , the Amphitheatres there were only of Wood.	109
<i>Cesar</i> , the Hunting-Games given by him.	14
<i>Constantinople</i> , Shews exhibited there, not in Amphitheatres.	121
<i>Circle</i> and <i>Semicircle</i> , Names given to the Amphitheatre.	177
<i>Cubale</i> , <i>Cubile</i> , <i>Cubalis</i> , <i>Covoli</i> , their Signification.	178
<i>Calphurnius</i> , his Description of the Fences made against the Wild-Beasts from injuring the Spectators in the Amphitheatre.	268, 269
<i>Cunei</i> or <i>Wedges</i> of the Amphitheatre, in what manner they were laid out.	281, 282
<i>Drusus</i> , his Huntings given in the Circus.	25
<i>Domitian</i> probably finished the Fabric of the Amphitheatre at <i>Rome</i> .	41
<i>Desgodetz</i> , his Character for Exactness in Architecture.	198
His Mistakes about the crossings of the Stairs.	311
His Mistakes about the Windows,	313
His other Mistakes with regard to the Amphitheatre.	314
<i>Doors</i> of the Amphitheatre, on the inner-side, their Description.	301, 302, 303
The Height of them in the inner Ambulatory.	306

I N D E X

	<i>Pag.</i>
<i>Demolishers</i> of the Amphitheatre, in what manner they were hindered from that piece of Barbarity.	304
<i>Eutaricus Cicilla</i> , the Combats of Wild-Beasts exhibited by him.	69
<i>Entries</i> of the Amphitheatre, their number.	309
<i>Fidena</i> , an Amphitheatre built in that City by <i>Attilius</i> .	28
<i>Fulvius Ful. Quietus</i> , a rare Medal of him and <i>Marcianus</i> his Brother.	124
<i>Fontana</i> , his Drawing of the Amphitheatre published with Additions, not according to the Original.	195
<i>Gladiators</i> , their Original was in <i>Greece</i> .	5
<i>Gladiatory Shews</i> , the first time they were exhibited at <i>Rome</i> .	11
Games in <i>Cicero's</i> time performed in the Circus.	15
<i>Gordianus Pius</i> re-edified the Amphitheatre.	44
<i>Greece</i> , no Amphitheatres were ever in that Country.	76 to 83
<i>Hetrurians</i> , Gladiatory Games began first among them.	7
Such Combats represented in their Monuments of Antiquity.	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Herod</i> , the Amphitheatres erected by him in <i>Ju- daea</i> were of Wood.	108
<i>Holes</i> in the Amphitheatres, the reason for them.	214, 215

I N D E X

	Pag.
<i>Inscriptions</i> , which relate to the greatest Works of any, seem by a Fatality to be generally lost.	140
One relating to the Amphitheatre of <i>Verona</i> , dug out of the Well in the middle of the Area there, with the Letters <i>5. CON. Cc.</i>	154
A Description thereof.	153
An antique one relating to the <i>Retiarij</i> , found at <i>Verona</i> .	158
See the Inscription itself.	159
A Description of it.	159, 160
One very curious, relating to a Hunting.	167
Its Description.	168
Another relating to the <i>Ludus Publicus</i> .	171
 <i>Key-Stones</i> of the Arches, in what manner built.	 305, 306
 <i>Ligorio</i> , his Drawing of the <i>Arena</i> of <i>Verona</i> , done according to his own Imagination, and not consistent with Truth.	 120
<i>Lippius</i> , his Mistake about the Interpretation of a Passage in <i>Pliny</i> .	150
His Draught of the Amphitheatre not done from Truth, but Imagination.	194
His and <i>Montfaucon's</i> superficial Account of the Stairs on the inside of the Amphitheatre.	311
<i>Ligorio, Pierro</i> , his Draught of the Amphitheatre imperfect.	300
The Statues said by him to be on the Amphitheatres, are all a Fable of his own inventing.	236

Labyrinth,

I N D E X

	Pag.
<i>Labyrinth</i> , that Word often understood for Amphitheatre.	177
<i>Lodges</i> of the Amphitheatre, in what manner disposed.	320
<i>Maxochio</i> , a Canon, an Account of his Book wrote about the Amphitheatre of <i>Capua</i> .	38
<i>Medals</i> , the Use of them in illustrating the Affairs of the Amphitheatres.	46
Some curious ones describ'd.	129 to 138
<i>Martinelli Christino</i> , a rare Medal relating to the Amphitheatre in his Collection.	47
<i>Milan</i> had a Circus, but no Amphitheatre in that City.	104
<i>Manuscripts</i> , in one, <i>Anno</i> 846, the Arena of <i>Verrona</i> is mentioned,	176
Another in the 10th Age,	ibid.
<i>Montfaucon</i> , his spurious Accounts of Images round the Amphitheatre of <i>Capua</i> .	238, 239
<i>Nero</i> , an Amphitheatre of Wood built by him in the <i>Campus Martius</i> .	28
<i>Nismes</i> , that an Amphitheatre was there, and other Parts of <i>France</i> , is a vulgar Error.	98, 99
The antique Building there no Amphitheatre.	139
<i>Nimes</i> , the Antiquities there describ'd.	142
A Roman Colony called <i>Colonia Augusta</i> there.	144
The Amphitheatre imagined to be there, was probably not built by the Emperor <i>Hadrian</i> , the <i>Historia Augusta</i> being silent therein.	147
<i>Naples</i> , that an Amphitheatre was erected there, is exploded by <i>Pietro Lascena</i> , who wrote the <i>Gymnasium Neapolitanum</i> .	105

I N D E X.

	<i>Pag.</i>
<i>Onorio Arrigoni</i> , an Abbot, his vast and noble Collection of Medals.	128
One particularly exceedingly scarce of <i>Galerius Maximus</i> .	<i>ibid.</i>
Its Legend and Description.	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Orders of Architecture</i> , vary in their Proportions according to the Fancy of Architects and Circumstances of Things.	208
In Architecture, from what Buildings of the Ancients the Moderns took them.	225, 226, 227
The <i>Tuscan Order</i> to be seen and learned in the Arena of <i>Verona</i> .	229, 230, 233
<i>Pompey the Great</i> , the Games celebrated by him,	14
The first who erected an Amphitheatre of Stone.	23
<i>Piacenza</i> , an Amphitheatre there.	29
<i>Prints</i> of Copper-plates, fictitious Things often represented by them.	119
Of Amphitheatres, how very defective,	316
<i>Pretorian Camps</i> , are not represented on Coins, but Cities.	126, 127
<i>Pola</i> , the Theatre there very different from the common Sort.	139
<i>Plan</i> of Ground-plot of the Amphitheatres, its Description.	243
<i>Pliny</i> , <i>Harduin's</i> Edition of that Author in some Places erroneous.	249
<i>Podium</i> , in what Manner it was ornamented.	265, 266
<i>Pavement</i> of the Amphitheatre, a Description thereof.	309

Ruins

I N D E X

	<i>Pag.</i>
<i>Ruins</i> of ancient Buildings, some People mistake modern Works for them.	119
<i>Remains</i> of Antiquity at <i>Rome, Verona, Pola</i> and <i>Nismes</i> , greater and more noble than any where else.	141
<i>Retiarii</i> , a Description of that kind of Gladiators.	163, 164, 165
<i>Rooms</i> in the first Inclosure, their Number and Light.	310
<i>Strabo</i> and <i>Halicarnasseus</i> , the first Authors who name the Amphitheatre.	21
<i>Statilius Taurus</i> , the Hunting Theatre of Stone erected by him.	24
<i>Symmachus</i> , in his Time a Tax was laid on Animals allotted for publick Shews.	69
<i>Satire</i> , a Specimen of such kind of Poetry among the <i>Greeks</i> .	93, 94
<i>Sicily</i> , whether fixed Amphitheatres were ever in that Island, is uncertain.	106
<i>Sarmio</i> , a Peninsula, the Ruins of the House of <i>Catullus</i> said to be there.	118
<i>Scamozzi</i> , his Drawing of the Amphitheatre imperfect.	197
<i>Steps</i> , or Seats in the Amphitheatre of <i>Verona</i> , in what Manner they have been repaired by the Moderns.	270, 271, 172
In the Amphitheatre, how they were contriv'd, and their Number.	274, 275
<i>Stairs</i> of the Amphitheatre, on the Inside thereof, in what Manner dispos'd.	290, 291
<i>Serlio</i> , his Draught of the Amphitheatre spoiled and falsified by the Engravers.	311
<i>Stories</i> ,	

I N D E X

	<i>Pag.</i>
<i>Series</i> , of the Amphitheatre, the highest Ends described,	315, 316
<i>Toxari</i> , the Account of them fabulous,	3
<i>Titus Vespasian</i> , the Colossus on Medals represented him, and not <i>Nero</i> .	40, 41
<i>Thunder</i> , the Omenousness believed to be in it by the Ancients.	45
<i>Telemachus</i> , a Monk, slain by the Spectators in the Amphitheatre.	68
<i>Trajan's Pillar</i> , the round Figures seen on it no Amphitheatres.	122
<i>Tournaments</i> , perform'd within the Amphitheatre of <i>Verona</i> , one <i>Anno</i> 1612, another 1654, 186	
Of another <i>Anno</i> 1222, and 1627.	187
Another, in which our Author the Marquis perform'd as a Combatant.	188
And <i>Tilting</i> , from whence People had the first Idea of them.	250, 251
<i>Tertullian</i> , a difficult Passage in him with regard to the inner Disposition of the Amphitheatre explain'd.	279
<i>Tuscan Order</i> , an Account of it.	209
<i>Villites</i> , the Use of that kind of Gladiators.	9
<i>Vespasian</i> , the most magnificent Amphitheatre of all, built by him in <i>Rome</i> .	29, 30
<i>Verona</i> , except at that Place, <i>Rome</i> and <i>Capua</i> , no Amphitheatres are to be seen.	100
The Amphitheatre there probably not built by <i>Augustus</i> .	149
The Amphitheatre there probably not built by <i>Maximus</i> .	150, 151
The first time the <i>Arena</i> there is mentioned after the Times of the <i>Romans</i> .	175
<i>Verona</i> ,	

I N D E X.

	Pag.
<i>Verona</i> , a Governour there sends a Challenge to a Clergyman to fight him in a Duel for having killed an Arch-Priest.	180
The Amphitheatre there repaired by publick Decree, <i>Anno</i> 1228.	181
Another Statute for that Purpose, <i>Anno</i> 1376.	183
<i>Vid.</i> the Words themselves.	184
A third, <i>Anno</i> 1475, &c.	202
The Amphitheatre there, the Measures thereof.	211, 212
The Amphitheatre there, some farther Account of its Dimensions, and the Materials with which it was built.	123, 125
<i>Vallum</i> of the Romans, its Description.	157
<i>Vitruvius</i> , <i>Cerdo</i> , whether he built the Amphitheatre of <i>Verona</i> is uncertain.	180
<i>Visconti</i> , that Family Presidents over the Arena of <i>Verona</i> .	196
<i>Vitruvius</i> , a Passage in him not well understood.	273, 274
<i>Vomitories</i> in the Amphitheatre, in what Manner they were contriv'd.	308
<i>Ufizi</i> , a Description of that Palace in <i>Florence</i> .	
<i>Wild Beasts</i> , the fighting of them in the <i>Ædilitate</i> of <i>M. Scaurus</i> .	13
In what Manner they were brought within the Area of the Amphitheatres.	254, 255
The Manner by which they were hindred from injuring the Spectators.	266, 267
<i>Walls</i> of the Amphitheatre on the Inside, in what Manner they were built.	305















